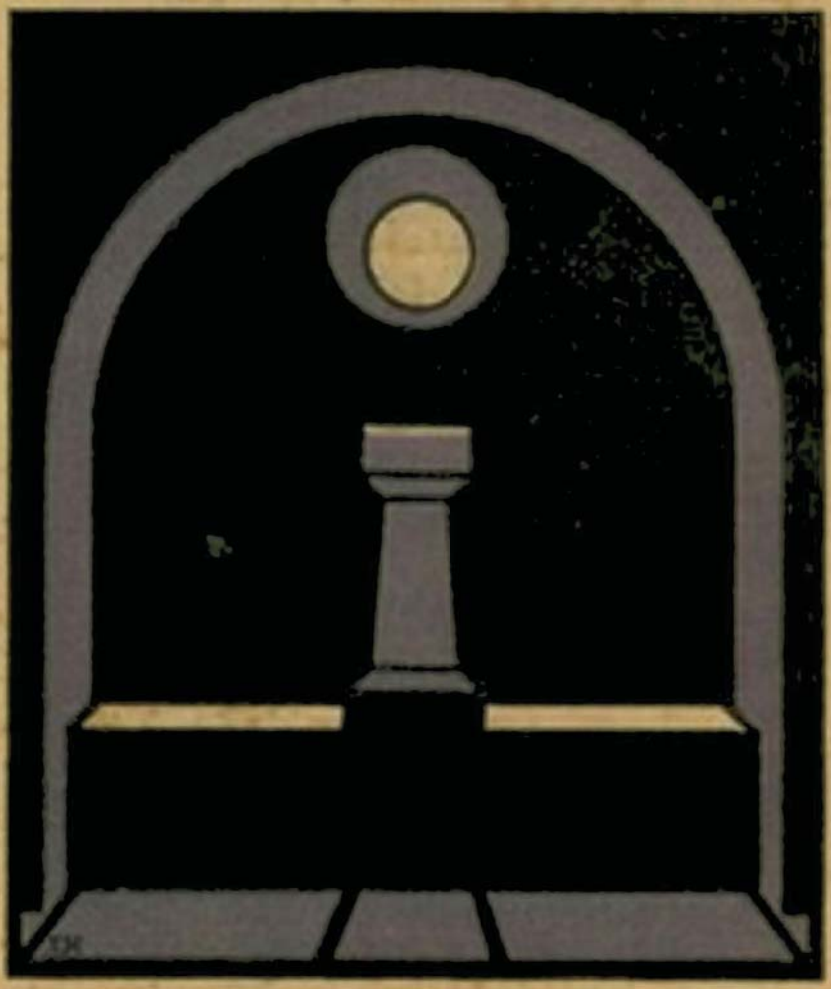
Wilhelm Teudt



GERMANIC SANCTUARIES

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Germanic Sanctuaries

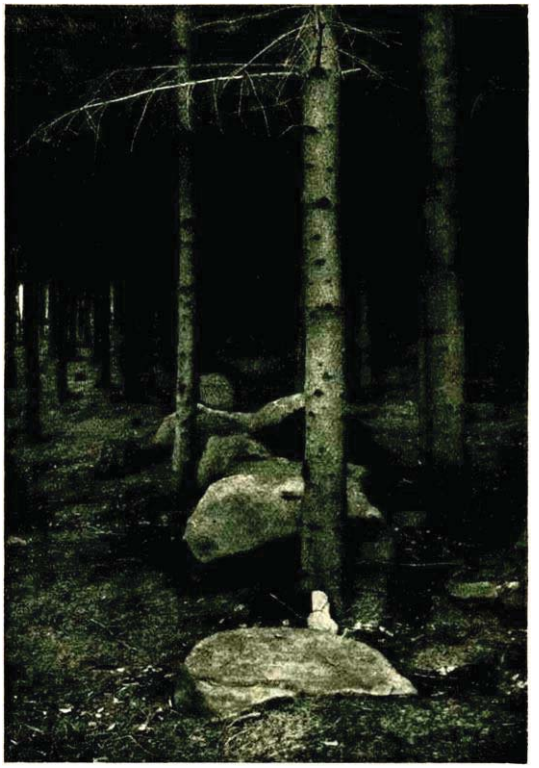

Fig. I. In the local Wuldi

Wilhelm Teudt

Germanic Sanctuaries

Contributions to the Unravelling of Prehistory,
Based on the Externsteine, the Sources of the
Lippe and the Teutoburg

Second, revised and expanded edition
Fourth to seventh thousand / With 81 illustrations and 1 map

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tlopzerigl« lgzi >>)- Eugen Diederichs Verlag in Jena

Gratefully dedicated to the Berlin Society
for the History of Natural Sciences, Medicine and Technology

1. Why and How

In one of the reviews of the first edition of this book, I am quoted as saying: "Since he began by looking at the whole, he was then able to interpret every individual element he found meaningfully as a part of the whole." I accept the praise contained therein. If my book has aroused interest and delight in our obscure and woefully neglected Germanic past, this is surely due to the fact that I wrote everything whilst keeping the whole in view. It was based on the fact that, prompted by an overview of the findings and working methods of the various individual disciplines involved in Germanic studies, including genetics, I recognised the old conception of Germanic identity as having become untenable and wished to examine it through my own research, starting from the central religious question closest to my heart. I had the good fortune, for some years now, to have a unique object of study—the Externstein—in my vicinity, in which an answer to important and most fundamental questions of Germanic history is enshrined in a powerfully clear stone document, and through which a view of the whole is virtually demanded.

Both are necessary: specialisation and the view of the whole. Without specialisation, The science of our time could never, ever make its astonishing advances. A doctoral thesis on the respiratory organs of black fly larvae will seem superfluous only to those who cannot conceive of the laborious yet necessary paths that biology must take to understand the processes of life. Countless are the specialised fields within the broader sciences in which intelligent and diligent people have their defined tasks, beyond which their expertise need not venture. The Stone Age archaeologist will decline to give a definitive answer when presented with Roman pottery; the Germanist specialising in Indo-European languages will withhold judgement when the matter concerns Anglo-Saxon. This is far from being a criticism.

But even if we disregard specialisation within a single discipline, it must — on average — a representative of one of the major branches of knowledge might be regarded as an oddball in relation to the whole, which, of course, is by no means meant as a criticism. Yes, it is inevitable that any long-standing, predominant engagement with defined tasks, alongside an often unmistakable general character, also imposes a certain professional perspective on a person. Anyone who does not accustom themselves, with tenacious determination, to look beyond that professional perspective will have their view of the whole clouded. Thus, my life's journey, which has led me to change my life's work on average every seven years—and indeed within a substantially coherent inner development—may, alongside its disadvantages, have brought the advantage that I can be trusted and credited with a view of the whole that is free from professional influence.

My way of life and inclinations have meant that the central question regarding the fate of our German people to date and their future has never ceased to occupy my mind. The advent of Christianity, its influence on development and the outcome after 1,150 years,

the shaping of social and cultural conditions, the influence of scientific thought on intellectual life as a whole, the catastrophe of war and the ensuing political situation both at home and abroad, cosmopolitanism and the current spiritual state of our people—these were the subjects of my studies.

One cannot help but ask whether the elements conducive to spiritual flourishing—which are undoubtedly also present in scientific progress—have been utilised in a manner that is truly uplifting, that is, directed towards noble and worthy goals. For what is true must surely also be good; if it were to have any other effect, this could only be attributed to human folly. That was the question I grappled with during my time in the Kepler League.

Where serious men grapple with these serious questions and see decline in the paths of development taken so far, there is no hope for a brighter future, nor even for the preservation of our national character without inner renewal.

But have we not already reached the point where the call for inner renewal is bound to remain an empty demand, no matter which side takes the initiative? Is it not as though we are moving in a vicious circle? For even to set out on a path—whether by the individual or by the masses, on whom, alas, it ultimately depends—requires not only the joyful recognition of a goal worth striving for, but also inner strengths of resolve and perseverance, which seem to have vanished. From where are these inner forces to come, upon which one might build? Religion, moral law, a sense of justice, the fatherland, professional discipline, loyalty, attachment to one's hometown, family ties — who can today (always viewed from the perspective of the mass average, which remains decisive for our fate) rely on spiritual forces that could and should flow from these sources of strength, and once did? The forces that have remained victorious among the people have not been able to complete their work quickly enough, and legislation has followed suit everywhere. Whatever good the years 1789, 1818 and 1918 might have brought has been stifled by human aberration.

Nevertheless, we still possess a precious asset that remains untapped; it remains untapped because, throughout the thousand years of history known to us, it has never been utilised consciously, consistently or persistently – neither in times of peace nor in the struggles for survival, nor in political or cultural development.

This is the German character, that is to say, the essential distinctive powers, the dominant features of the spiritual and mental structure in its national expression. This trait of the blood, as we might also call this characteristic, natural and God-given, influences—if it is not suppressed—thinking, feeling and willing. It pushes forward beyond obstacles of an individual and general nature towards the good and bad goals lying in its path. It is the natural source of energy for lofty goals, without which only the pathological can be achieved.

The drive of the blood varies in strength among Germans, depending on the degree of admixture of foreign blood, in which virtually every German has a share, but on the whole it remains so predominantly Germanic that it can be reckoned with as a tangible factor.

Despite a history of fatal neglect and oppression, the instinct for pleasure has never been entirely extinguished. Just how quickly it can be reawakened was demonstrated in 1914. It strives ceaselessly for liberation, albeit often in questionable forms, to excessive degrees, and towards ill-considered ends, because neither responsible leadership nor science nor prevailing customs have been prepared to recognise it, to assess it, to keep it within feasible and fruitful bounds, and to make use of it.

In antiquity, its utilisation would generally have taken place unconsciously and as a matter of course, as is evident from a number of speeches by Germanic men that have come down to us. For eleven hundred years, however, the voice of the blood was first consciously, then unconsciously suppressed in political, ecclesiastical, artistic and cultural spheres, on the grounds of the perceived inferiority of the Germanic — suppressed, insofar as concessions had to be made to the Germanic soul's resistance in individual areas. Uninvited and unrecognised, it has crept in everywhere, even when access was blocked wherever possible, or when its influence could only reach us through twisted conduits. There is no ideal endeavour of the Middle Ages or the modern era in whose pursuit and realisation the influence of Germanic blood has not played a part. That is why we have not yet become entirely un-German.

As a subject of scientific inquiry, the natural characteristics of blood, in their diversity across different peoples, have played little or no part. Discussions have generally not progressed much beyond a broad distinction between the various races, occasional remarks on related matters, and some commendable initial approaches. Ultraviolet rays, radium and the structure of atoms have been wrested from the realm of the occult by science; the structure of the soul of a people bound by blood, in all its particularity, still awaits scientific elucidation.

Who would underestimate the difficulty of such a task, especially since there can be no uniform international science in this very field, apart from external methodology that one people might learn from another?

Even the most well-intentioned attempt at an international psychology of nations would reveal the truth of Spengler's ideas regarding the impossibility of mutual understanding between national cultures. But then again, we have no need for studies by Mongolian, Oriental or Romance scholars into the deepest German instincts. And if a German were to undertake the desperate attempt to apply a general standard—or one borrowed from other peoples—to the deepest characteristics of the German soul, in order to reduce everything to a common denominator, he would thereby distort his own German countenance into a grimace. We need the German soul to be observed, respected and judged not with uncomprehending, but with understanding minds.

With these questions of national psychology in mind, I have sought in recent years to delve into the ancient history of our people, going back from around 850. I wished to view history through the eyes that have learned to see it through the latest scientific findings (including research into monuments, myths, symbols, geography and the theory of heredity).

In doing so, it was an interesting exercise in self-observation to note how, every now and then,

Once again, the assumptions and judgements about the actions, thoughts, appearance and way of life of our ancestors—which had been actively at work in my mind from my earliest youth right through to old age—forced their way into my project. It was a shift in worldview. The project was: . Unbiasedness, strict objectivity, critical caution, complete freedom from previous views that are not corroborated by impeccable evidence, obtained through rigorous, conclusive proof, or secured by evidence—all this, however, without prejudice to the right to hypothesis and the indispensable power of logical imagination. This. undertaking is far more difficult than the philosophical layman is inclined to assume. Not infrequently, an almost violent. effort is required to. achieve the necessary detachment. Nor can one do without the assumption of the nullity of a well-intentioned reversal of habitual chains of judgement.

Two examples of this, which are to be regarded merely as theoretical working hypotheses. First, a simple one from the vantage point of real culture and practical life.

The ancient conception of a sacrificial feast of our ancestors: primitive and incomprehensible customs. Rustic, defiant and wild figures, forest dwellers. Incomplete, mostly shabby clothing; poorly worked furs; fantastical costumes. Rough behaviour. Unmelodious singing, hoarse voices. The whole picture is rather unsympathetic and strange, similar to the image of a gypsy camp.

This conception undergoes a significant transformation following the elimination of all unproven assumptions, a critical evaluation of all relevant accounts, consideration of the principles of genetics, comparison with contemporary peoples who were likely not intellectually superior, and the incorporation of psychological factors as well as those arising frompractical necessities, and may lead to a different conception of a sacrificial meal of our ancestors: Festive customs that seem familiar. Men and women of good, or even moderately good, appearance; simple, or even elegant, figures. A well-groomed, festive appearance. Flattering, complete traditional dress, in some cases fine tailoring, fabrics of linen, wool and hemp. Fur, either as trim or as coats depending on the season (Fig. 78). Rich gold, silver and metal jewellery, particularly on the women, as well as iron jewellery. An impression of affluence. Restrained behaviour and a friendly, cheerful demeanour. Fresh, expressive, melodious singing, from which our finest, familiar folk song melodies resound; accompanied by finely crafted, melodious instruments. The whole scene has a homely feel, as if a modern city-dweller were attending a folk festival in his father’s remote hometown.

A second example, concerning intellectual culture. The usual line of reasoning: the use of the alphabet by a number of learned or educated individuals for law-making, poetry, history and private purposes — hence the wisdom, competence, moral worth and high culture of this people.

New consequences of the judgement: symbolic representations of ideas in use among the religiously minded; unwritten law, based on the sense of justice of the entire community and the decision of the chosen judge; folk and heroic history, poetically shaped and illuminated, in the spiritual possession and on the lips of all — consequently, a higher folk culture imbued with spirit.

The scientific right to contrast any thesis or doctrine with an antithesis or counter-doctrine for the purpose of verification, as occurs in the two examples, cannot be disputed. The first example is subject to historical assessment, the second to historical-philosophical and moral-ideal judgement.

Only if one is fundamentally prepared, from the outset, to make relentless use of one's right to formulate such counter-doctrines—regardless of the hand-wringing of the guardians of supposedly established scientific truths—will one, in the face of the task before us, summon the necessary inner freedom, lack of preconceptions and sharpness of vision. Upon testing this, they will be astonished at the extent to which even unquestioned fundamental views—upon which the first judgement in both examples is based—lack sufficient justification and are vulnerable to collapse. What practical course of action they then choose to adopt is another matter.

Having established this fundamental principle, I intend, in practical terms, to generally dispense with the aforementioned right and, in this book, taking current scholarship into account, to assume in individual cases the minimum level of Germanic culture that can be deduced from the evidence already available. That is to say: I do not assume a cultural state that I might otherwise accept without there being any historical or other evidence to prove it wrong. I could, for example, put forward the claim that the Nordic Germanic peoples in the Bronze Age — I mean the true forefathers of the Iron Age Germanic peoples, forefathers whose actual existence cannot be denied, and whom I take the liberty of calling 'Germanic peoples' — would have far surpassed the Indians, Babylonians and Egyptians in their knowledge of astronomy. This statement would be no less provable than the usual claim that the Germanic peoples were far inferior to those peoples in this respect; for both statements are unprovable, because the picture of one side of the comparison cannot be drawn at all. I do not do so, even though flashes of light from the spiritual life of the most ancient Germanic past catch our eye, making such a statement seem no more than an excessive risk. Even if it were to prove that only a fraction of the astral-mythological research of O. S. Reuter, Arthur Drews and others, and of Herman Wirth's research into symbols, were to stand the test of time, the justification for even more far-reaching statements would still be there.

But I repeat: proceeding from the customary point of view, with all due caution, though certainly without denying clear conclusions of reason, I shall endeavour to penetrate step by step into the darkness of the Germanic past and shall not anticipate anything for which no justification can be provided.

The changes I have made in preparing the second edition are mostly of a supplementary nature. Public or private criticism has prompted corrections only on minor points. It is understandable and commendable that the vast majority of archaeological experts, university lecturers and museum directors, who have not yet had the opportunity to have me draw their attention to the essence of the observations on the spot, are holding back on judgement. All the more incomprehensible, then, was a

statement by a number of East German archaeologists against Herman Wirth and myself, who had to endure a sharp rebuttal from Wirth in issue No. 2 of the journal ‘Germanien’. In view of the generally wait-and-see stance adopted by representatives of archaeology, I too am compelled to wait and continue my work, without being able to count on support from all quarters for the time being. The Externstein evidence — to speak of this alone — with the conclusions to be drawn from it, has nevertheless entered the field of view of archaeological science as an irrefutable truth demanding attention. It seems impossible that it can be deprived of its influence on the course of scientific work in the long term.

The factual confirmations sent to us from all parts of Germany were numerous and encouraging. Among other things, they bear witness to the wealth of archaeological material still lying unexamined across the German landscape. Organised in an archive that already contains several hundred documents and images, this material awaits analysis by the younger generation who count themselves among the friends of Germanic prehistory. Unfortunately, I was unable to give it the recognition it deserves in the present work, however much this task tempted me as a means of supporting my arguments.

On the other hand, I am able to present a number of valuable new observations and studies which serve to confirm the propositions put forward regarding this region. I refer to the significant nun find in the lower Externstein Grotto, with its compelling evidence regarding the age and nature of the cult site (p. 31), the Hethi affair (p. 98), the progress on the Jrminsul question (p. 48), the Oesierholz Easter stars (p. 75), Gudenslau as the destination of the festival road (p. 62), the throne of the Jnkas (p. 38), a pilgrimage route (p. 156), excavations and finds regarding the settlement history of the region (p. 82), a supplement to the history of Paderborn (p. 151), and ancient accounts of the cultic significance of the Leistrup Forest (p. 163). In addition, there were the important new publications by Wissig (Wynfried), Neckel (Germans and Celts), Kummer (The Downfall of Midgard), Schaafhausen (The Introduction of Christianity), Nöhrig (Sacred Lines through East Frisia), Prietze (Place Names), and von Buttel-Neepen (Runic Finds) — the latter concerning the finds and the author’s own comments on the nun issue.

In this edition, too, the arrangement of the material essentially follows the course of my objective observations, to which the relevant considerations and the lessons to be drawn from them are linked. In new contexts, fresh aspects of these insights come to light. The reader would do well to consult the appended subject index if they wish to keep track of what has been said on a particular point. This presents a disadvantage, but also an advantage. I do not wish to deprive the book of its original character, as readers of the first edition largely regarded this as a merit over a pre-determined theoretical discussion. The debates with opponents, found in Chapters 11 and 16 of the first edition, have been omitted, and the relevant factual material contained therein has been incorporated into the relevant sections of the new edition. Anyone wishing to > “Germanien”, Journal for Friends of Germanic Prehistory, Bielefeld, Thomas Printing House – Jena 1929, Eugen Diederichs Verlag.

wishes to learn more about the objections to the astronomical report on the Oesterholz question should therefore read the refutation of these objections in the first edition.

My book owes its creation and its distinctive character to personal observations made at ancient sacred sites in the southern part of the Lipperland, where the two names of the mountain range, Osning and the Teutoburg Forest, direct one's thoughts towards the Germanic past. One observation followed another, as if I had been handed a guiding rope. The interconnected material called for a comprehensive presentation.

Several sacred sites clearly had significance extending beyond the local area, foremost among them the Externsteine themselves. Thus arose the idea that this was a region which the Germanic tribes, whose borders once converged here, had chosen as the site for their shared sanctuaries. It was possible to begin sketching a single, comprehensive picture.

Historical questions, such as those concerning the Battle of Teutoburg and the destroyer of the sanctuaries, as well as fundamental questions, naturally found their way into the investigations and deliberations.

It was, in particular, the controversial significance of the West Frankish King Charles for the German people that led me to wonder whether I should accompany the factual information I present with historical commentary. I have set these reservations aside for the following reason.

Objectively speaking, the findings already provided by archaeological research and the new insights yet to be gained r e g a r d i n g the Germanic past in general, and Germanic places of worship in particular, are in many waysrespects so inextricably linked to the deeds of Charlemagne and to our view of his significance for the development of Germania that it would strike me as an unnatural separation of things that belong together if I were not to deal with both subjects simultaneously. Breaking open well-ordered, stamped and sealed historical compartments is, after all, unavoidable in view of our task.

It is the presentation of a whole series of new observations, the factual basis of which cannot be denied even by my opponents, that gives me the grounds, the right and the confidence to raise here the major questions on the path to understanding the Germanic past and, where necessary, to answer them in a manner that diverges from conventional wisdom. The reader is faced with the necessity of re-examining his overall view of things to the extent that it depends on the newly demonstrated facts and findings.

Through this work, I would like to help ensure that, more than has been the case hitherto, the Germanic past—right down to the very roots to which our national existence goes back, and to the forces that have shaped our hidden history—is placed on the agenda of the broadest scholarly discussions, and that this topic does not disappear from the agenda again until, in a manner bearing witness to truth, a nightmare is lifted from the German national soul — the nightmare that the German people, with regard to their Germanic

German past, the victim of a great historical delusion, against the elimination of which powerful forces are still at work.

My endeavour forms part of an existing intellectual movement. Who can count the names of those who have worked and continue to work towards the same end, both within and outside the specialist disciplines? What is new, apart from the individual observations, is perhaps the deliberate juxtaposition of Karl's work with the remnants of the former Germanic culture that have been destroyed by shm. I ask the reader not to turn their attention away from this. For Karl's insight is the key to understanding the fate of Germanic culture in the past, with its impact on the present and the future.

I believe that, by the way in which I have, in numerous places throughout my remarks, increasingly subjected my actual observations to the light of fundamental considerations, I have responded to a need that my readers have long since felt to a greater or lesser extent. The overarching Germanic question hangs in the air, awaiting its resolution. Even amongst those who profess to be opponents of the view I advocate, I have found a growing yielding, a concession and an uncertainty that no longer has anything to do with a position on firm ground. For the solid foundation for a view of history quite different from the one we have learnt has, after all, long since come to light.

Even the archaeological finds, which left no doubt as to the artistic and craft achievements of the Germanic peoples in Germania, called for reflection on the prerequisites of these achievements — — far-reaching technical experience and knowledge, a high sense of art, a high standard of intellectual culture inextricably linked to this artistic sensibility, a high standard of living, education, transport, etc. — and to draw the inevitable conclusions. Our Fig. 2 provides excellent food for thought on this subject.

Added to this was the news of the advanced civilisations of ancient Nordic peoples outside Germania, dating back to time immemorial, and of the close intellectual and religious connections within the entire ancient cultural world, from which the significance of Germanic culture shines ever more clearly; furthermore, a radical clearing-up of erroneous assumptions in the linguistic sphere regarding ethnic connections. In the latter respect, Neckels's work 'Germans and Celts' has taken us a good deal further forward.

Above all, however, this entire circle of ideas, which is in the process of being reconstituted, has been given a strong foundation—thanks to the powerful inspiration of Hans Günther—by the irrefutable tenets of the science of heredity regarding the continuity of physical and mental heritage. Even from this starting point, without the insights just mentioned, the following proposition must be established:

> The assumption that Germanic culture in Germania entered the ranks of civilised peoples through contact with the Romans and the West Franks must be recognised as a gross historical error.

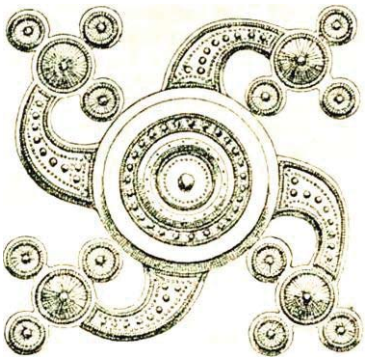
Hardly anyone disputes this statement anymore. Yet there is a passive resistance that fails to counter this error with consistency, determination and enthusiasm wherever it exerts its confusing, harmful and ugly influence

has the capacity to carry out this task. Even within our own people, the inner disposition required to remain objective in the face of individual cases that demand a departure from traditional views is far from having taken hold everywhere. It will be useful to give this matter further consideration, which is what we shall do in Chapter 18.

The fact that we have been exposed to the wealth of tangible cultural evidence from the Mediterranean countries (including the Orient) in Germania also leads even those of good will to hold back the barbarism of their Germanic forefathers. The reasons that imposed their historical martyrdom upon the Germanic peoples have not been duly incorporated into the thinking of our people, neither in detail nor in their fateful interplay. Without claiming to be exhaustive, I would point out the following:

1. The Germanic real culture— As far as buildings, sculptures and written records are concerned, there was a distinct 'wooden culture' (abundance of wood, climate, inclination), the monuments of which have completely decayed naturally. If nature had just as completely destroyed the monuments of the distinct stone culture of the Mediterranean countries, the museums would be empty, and not a single pyramid, we would know nothing of all the wisdom and culture that we know only through the small tablets of the Orientals. It is not surprising that scholarly views on the contribution of Germanic culture to the written tradition differ widely; but any judgement based solely on negation must be rejected. Once again: let us remove the stone monuments from our knowledge of the culture of the Mediterranean countries! Only then will we have reached the first stage of a fair comparison with Germanic culture.

to compare with the present day, and we would repeatedly find ourselves in the belief that



e.g. 2. The international silver masterpiece from Häver (Mecklenburg)

1. Provided that the material of the real culture was neither wood nor stone, but pottery clay and metal, a comparison is valid. This comparison immediately presents a completely different picture and places Germanic artefacts, on average, on an equal footing with those of southern cultures; indeed, it is claimed by eminent archaeologists that all real culture originated in the north and spread towards the south-east and south.

spread towards the south-east and south. That there were fluctuations over long periods of time need not be denied.

L . The human desire for destruction has always played a part in depriving later generations of cultural artefacts. The gradual conquest of the ancient world by Christianity over the course of centuries resulted in the almost complete preservation of cultural monuments. The Germanic peoples of the Migration Period had no intention of deliberately destroying culture. What was lost is to be attributed to the inevitable destruction wrought by war. This applies particularly to the Goths and the much-maligned Vandals. No German should be unfamiliar with the words of Salvian, Bishop of Massilia: 'Where the Goths dwell, only the Romans are immoral, and where the Vandals dwell, even the Romans become moral.' — In stark contrast to the mild fate of Mediterranean culture, a deliberate, partly officially ordered cultural destruction descended upon Germanic culture from 772 onwards, sparing nothing connected in any way with the old faith, and furthermore fundamentally seeking the replacement of the Germanic essence with a Roman-West Frankish essence in all spheres of life. It remains an unresolved task to present the full, truthful account of the impact of this historical process.

Only those who, on the basis of sufficient knowledge, do justice to the reasons set out for the 'Germanic darkness' are qualified and entitled to pass any judgement on Germanic culture.

There is, at present, no more significant or urgent task for the historical sciences than to investigate the causes of this error, to ensure its overcoming in academia, the Church, schools and the people, and to work on the construction of a new historical perspective which is to take the place of the error in truth. In some areas of our thinking and feeling that are relevant here, what lies ahead is not merely a matter of correction, but a revolutionary reconstruction.

I only began the scholarly study of Germanic issues in 1924–25. But six years of exclusive devotion to the subject have a special value when the preceding life experiences could at the same time serve as preparation for it — more value than if the youthful student and scholar were to devote himself to such a subject with commendable dedication. There are questions to be considered which require a comprehensive overview of various fields of knowledge, such as a specialist scholar cannot possess as such. For such a profound and far-reaching re-evaluation of judgements as we are now experiencing with regard to Germanic culture, however, questions of the latter kind take precedence.

Throughout, in matters requiring expert judgement, I have sought advice from experts, to whom I would like to express my gratitude here for their support. I have deferred to their judgement unless I had reason to believe that it was influenced by principles and views within the academic discipline that had arisen under the influence of prejudice against Germanic culture. On the urgent necessity of exercising this caution.

Kossinna (Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, p. 46) provides evidence that deserves to be printed in bold. The historian Mathias Koch made the memorable statement: "As a general rule for German regions, bronze and gold artefacts found in graves, unless they are Roman, must necessarily be Celtic, because cultural history resists attributing them to the Germanic peoples." The tendency discernible in such words, spoken with rare candour, must be combated all the more earnestly as it prevails unconsciously within our historical sciences. Under its influence, principles and premises have arisen upon which the assessment of individual questions now rests. The ruling establishment of the old regime enjoys the convenient position of being able to shift the onus of proof from itself onto others, even though its own view rests by no means on evidence, but on the hitherto lack of counter-evidence. Merely restoring the balance here is one of the difficulties of the task. The German people allowed themselves to be subjected to foreign intellectual domination within the Roman Empire of the German Nation, and the historical lie of Germanic barbarism was part of the ready-made arsenal. It took root as a doctrine of the Church and of scholarship. It grew into a sacrosanct component of the worldview. It was sheltered and nurtured by all un-German powers and currents which, at any given time, were at work seeking to rise above the German people, whether these powers flooded in from outside or emerged as hostile forces from the depths of the people themselves. It was also diligently served by the ever-present, outspoken representatives of the German masses, who stare open-mouthed at the consequences but fail to realise that it is their lack of foresight regarding national self-assertion which — often under the guise of objectivity — leads to the undignified surrender of contributes to the interests of the German people.

Among other nations, for whom this German weakness is something incomprehensible, such sincere humility is initially regarded as repugnant hypocrisy, until the endeavour to appear honest in their eyes has yielded evidence of self-denial which, from the German perspective, must be regarded as a betrayal of one's own people, and even then, with the decline of respect in the eyes of the enemy, achieves the opposite of what was intended. '

If, in my remarks, I frequently speak of the errors in our historical conception of Germanic culture, it is far from my intention to attribute any blame to those who, in my view, hold such erroneous views. Any blame, if there were any, would lie very far in the past. Yet even in those dark centuries, the belief that one was serving God by destroying Germanic culture was, for many, a sincere one. We were all born into the errors established back then. For us, they have been the spiritual zest for life, the self-evident zest for life that requires no scrutiny. Every breeze from a different direction, every breeze with a different temperature, every breeze with a different composition of elements strikes us as strange or uncomfortable

— or even familiar, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on our disposition, our upbringing and our otherwise acquired attitude towards things.

If blame is to be assigned, I would be most inclined to lay it at my own door, for—if I may be permitted this personal confession—I have for too long bowed to the authority of prevailing opinion, even though, in quite a few matters, lively doubts have been stirring within me since my youth. Indeed, in a field of particular relevance here—that of religion—I consciously submitted to authority precisely for the sake of doubt and its overcoming. During my university studies in philosophy and theology, and for a number of years thereafter, I experienced the full force of authority and the full weight of the status quo in intellectual life; I surrendered to these forces and initially lived within them with inner assent, until, having accumulated life experience—now also in other scientific and practical fields, right up to military service in the World War — believe I have gained full independence and freedom of judgement. The hereditary-psychological prerequisites of scientific thinking have been the particular subject of my studies and observations.'

Having touched upon the religious aspect of our question here, this may provide an opportunity to address, at this very point, a misunderstanding that might arise in certain passages when reading my work. I shall have to portray truthfully the actions of the missionaries of the Christian Church during the centuries of conversion—that is, the actions of the West Frankish-Roman and like-minded Anglo-Saxon emissaries in alliance with the political power of the Merovingian Franks—as disastrous for the Germanic peoples. This does not affect my conviction that Christianity, in its ideal essence—as we can still discern it from the life and message of its founder—must nevertheless be regarded, after shedding its peculiar Oriental elements, as the appropriate religious stage for Germanic culture, upon which its own distinctive nature religion is to be purified, supplemented and elevated to

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i I wrote a short treatise on this subject in 1917: *Die deutsche Sachlichkeit*, published by Naturwissenschaftlicher Verlag G. Thomas, Bielefeld. — At my publisher's request, I am adding a further personal note; this may well be welcome here, given my current place of residence in Osningland, as it renders the accusation of local patriotism groundless. I was neither born nor raised in Lippe, but only moved to Detmold in the post-war period. I thus escaped the French expulsion from Godesberg that took place in 1848, to which I had moved from Frankfurt am Main as co-founder and director of the Kepler Society for the Promotion of Natural Science (alongside Dennert), after having renounced ecclesiastical titles and rights. In Frankfurt, I was Friedrich Naumann's successor and had previously spent several years in the church service of the Bückeburg region. Admittedly, a certain interest in the land north of the source of the Lippe must have run in my blood. For my grandfather was born in Detmold and, in Napoleon's time, became an officer in the Lippe-Schaumburg-Lippe-Waldeck contingent; but his father, Provincial Building Officer Tcut, later Teudt, in Detmold, had moved there from Lübeck, and only threads no longer verifiable by documentary evidence lead via Nienburg on the Weser to the Teuthose family beneath the Grotenburg as far back as the 14th century. This interest, despite my non-Lippe origins, may have opened my eyes a little to many things found here in rncclia 'sci-manis', and which the locals habitually overlook.

was to lead. In a manner not yet so heavily burdened by the baggage of the foreign peoples' way of thinking, Christian doctrine had already reached the Goths centuries earlier than the other tribes. In this or a similar way, it would have found its way to the other Germanic tribes even without the brute force of West Frankish methods of conversion, and German history would then not be filled with so many pages of horror.

The religious suffering of the Germanic peoples cannot be undone. It is a futile and undesirable endeavour to try to turn back the wheel of history and to regard what has become historical as if it did not exist. But what westrive for in terms of the religious future of our people, and what must be achieved if the ongoing religious decline is not to lead to hopeless spiritual degeneration, is the extraction of the Christian truth from the shells of foreign additions that are incompatible with the German spirit, and its union with the elements of truth also contained in the primordial ideas of the Germanic nature religion.

It seems to me that no one, whatever their religious stance, whether Catholic or Protestant, can denythat the historical course of events surrounding the introduction of Christianity into Germania was a reprehensible one, and that the resulting discord in the spiritual condition of the German people has not yet, in the course of subsequent times, been resolved in a manner consistent with our insights from both a religious and a national standpoint.

This establishes the necessity and the call for church reform for both Christian denominations. We shall here disregard the material sense of these demands, which are initially posed only formally and appear formal, but are no less binding for that reason, and we already perceive progress in the fact that the recognition of the necessity of reform is making inroads even where salvation has hitherto been seen in the preservation, cultivation and expansion of tradition. . -

Such immensely significant insights in the fields of natural science and cultural history have come to light—one might, for instance, consider them in the light of Herman Wirth's introduction to his significant work, 'The Dawn of Humanity' — that a failure to take them into account on the part of those who acknowledge even a historical aspect of religion is becoming increasingly impossible and culpable.

Religious revivals and reforms within the Church never seem to arise from the deliberate decision of people gathering together. Yet they can be prepared for, until the light of a new religious dawn breaks at an unexpected hour. Part of the preparation now required involves shedding light on the Germanic past, particularly the spiritual life of our ancestors, insofar as this is still possible.

The desire, on my part, to understand more of this spiritual life—or at least to feel more of it—than I had learnt, and than could be found in books, became the impetus for me to turn my attention to a site whose former significance for Germanic worship had never been in doubt to me during many previous visits: these are the Extern

located near my present place of residence. They became the starting point for the series of new observations which I present in this treatise.

Just a few preliminary remarks. The more deeply I have immersed myself in archaeology in the strict sense (the science of the spade) — not in terms of individual finds, but in terms of the principles governing their identification and evaluation — the greater has become, on the one hand, my admiration for the meticulous working methods and the overall achievements made in just a few decades, whereby a science with a firm footing has emerged from the unfounded speculation of earlier times. On the other hand, however, serious doubts have arisen as to whether an absolute chronology and the determination of the ethnic origin of the finds do not require a far stronger basis than can usually be derived from the excavation results themselves. Excavation results depend on luck yesterday, today and tomorrow and must not be treated as if they were systematic statistics. Added to this are other significant considerations about which the finds themselves can say nothing.

These perspectives and insights have now changed over the past few decades, whilst at the same time the material with which archaeology deals has become much richer. However, the principles, guidelines and initial provisions that have become authoritative stem to a considerable extent from an earlier period. If, therefore, it does not become plausible that the principles, guidelines and provisions are consistently—that is, even with regard to the most firmly established propositions—subject to review and necessary amendment, then the question mark that had to be placed behind the chronological and ethnic classifications is reinforced.

In particular, I have by no means been able to convince myself that the ingrained, emotional prejudice against Germanic culture has been completely eliminated, as would be necessary for an objective assessment. It still has the effect that questions which are entirely consistent with our own archaeological findings are regarded as downright absurd.

This is also linked to the following reason: generally speaking, our archaeology fails to take into account the overwhelming fact that, during the 32-year Saxon Wars and the period that followed, we are dealing with a radical destruction of the culture that existed in Germania. This cultural destruction affected the entire body of literature (whether major or minor) and all stone structures—which were, after all, confined to the cultic sphere—along with the associated sculptures, whilst centuries earlier the extinction of the custom of grave goods had already brought an end to the cultural artefacts recoverable from the graves. These are insights which, in the further development of the young science of archaeology, cannot possibly be allowed to leave the premises and course of its work unaffected.

For some time now, serious doubts have arisen in wide circles as to whether a discipline predominantly focused on spade-based research and museum studies, and at risk of

whether archaeology, having become a narrow-minded discipline, is capable of fulfilling its task at all. This concern must be recognised as justified if there remains a reluctance to draw the necessary logical conclusions from the findings of one's own work and those of other disciplines. This should be done for the sake of truth, even if, in the new Germany, anything that amounts to a raising of the German national consciousness is held in the lowest possible regard.

My view that Germania has been inhabited by Germanic peoples, without any significant disruption, from at least the transition to agriculture right up to the advance of the Slavic wave – a view with which I have so clearly stepped on the toes of the proponents of the countless, contradictory theories of settlement and migration – has been increasingly reinforced by my more detailed study. I have no reason to alter the views I expressed in the chapter on the Germanic peoples.

I hope that my book will assist in the search for the truth, based on facts that can no longer be dismissed.

I hope to find readers who possess the willingness and ability to maintain objectivity in matters relating to Germanic culture; who, despite my inevitable errors in detail, do not lose sight of the trivialities and focus on the bigger picture; and who are willing to assist both in correcting these errors and in the positive development of the subject.

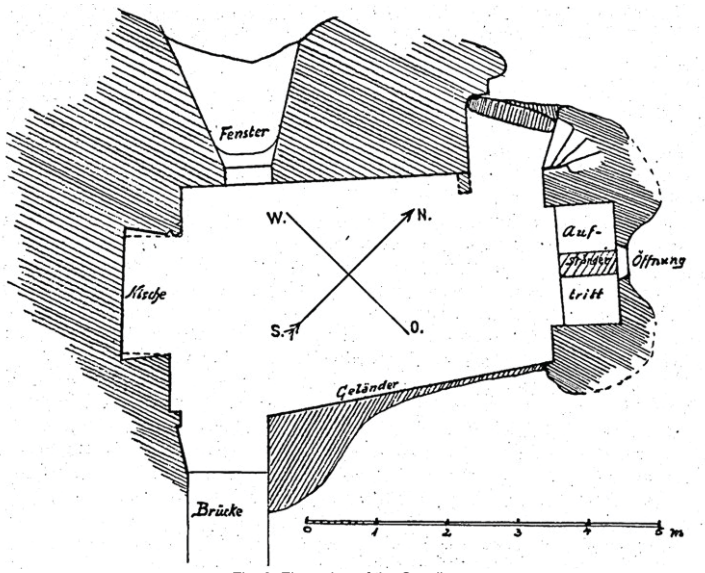


Fig. 3. Floor plan of the Sazellum

Abb. 4. Die Externsteine bei Horn in Lippe

2. The celestial sanctuary on the Externstein

The Detmold State Library holds a collection of some 20 titles on the Externsteine near Horn in the Teutoburg Forest, 11 of which can be regarded as detailed monographs (ranging up to 200 pages in length). These all date from the previous century, the last by Kisa in 1805. To us, who have a considerably broader view of ancient Germanic culture, the entire approach to the subject seems outdated, with the exception of Kisa. He, however, devotes his entire attention to the grotto in Rock 1 and the sculpture of the Descent from the Cross located there, and, it seems to me, only touches upon Rock 2—by far the most interesting—in passing. The other early scholars, too, come to terms with him with astonishing speed. Admittedly, some express the conjecture that the chamber at the top of the rock must surely have originally served the Germanic cult, but generally one is content to regard it as a Christian chapel. We shall see that we are in fact dealing here with a relatively well-preserved, significant witness to the ancient Germanic cult, which speaks clearly of the cultural heights of our ancestors in times of yore.

Dewitz (Die Erternsteine, Breslau 1886, p. 11) shows us just how the earlier scholars turned a blind eye to the facts: ‘The older Germanic tribes and the Saxons must be ruled out as pagan peoples on the basis of

the technique employed in the carving of the grottoes; for however crude the work may be, it is nevertheless clear that a wide variety of stonemasonry tools were used. We can see small holes made by a drill, as well as rough cuts from a pickaxe, fine broad strokes from a chisel, and
etc. The technique proves that the work was carried out by members of a nation which stood at a higher cultural level than those peoples. Therefore, the choice remains between the pagan Romans and the Christian nations."

The technical remarks are superficial and erroneous. What is astonishing is the sheer ignorance with which this prejudice manifests itself, given that even Dewitz was able to realise that his prejudice was built on thin air due to a lack of knowledge. 'It is striking how little interest many scholars of the Externsteine have shown in Germanic matters. As late as 1898, even Levin Schücking and Ferdinand Freiligrath, in their otherwise detailed description of the Externsteine (Das malerische und romantische Westfalen), wrote just a single sentence regarding their Germanic significance: 'The Externsteine have often been attributed significance as a temple and place of sacrifice as far back as pre-Christian times. We shall, however, refrain from addressing this view, which in any case amounts to nothing more than conjecture.' This statement best characterises the outcome of efforts to date to unravel the mystery of the Externsteine.

A growing scepticism regarding the thoroughness of previous investigations and the accuracy of the conclusions led me to make my own observations, which I began to publish after presenting them to a wider circle of members of the Historical Society and to the Detmold Regional Conservator. The follow-up referred to the fact that the cult at the Externsteine was merely a small part of a star-worship service centralised for the entire people, influencing their whole lives, and based on a broad scientific foundation.

The Tower Rock (Eggesterenstein) with the Sazellum

The tower- or column-shaped rock (No. 2 in Fig. 4), which is about 30 m high, features a man-made grotto-like chamber at its summit, accessed via a staircase—partly ancient—hewn out of Rock 3 and the bridge (Fig. 4). We shall retain the neutral name 'Sazellum' for this chamber, which has been used on several occasions, not least to distinguish it from the larger grotto located below in Rock 1.

It was the first, fundamental observation – one which, to my knowledge, inexplicably no one had yet voiced – that the Sazellum does not stand before us in its original form, but rather bears the unmistakable traces of a massive act of destruction, which has also affected several other parts of this tower rock. Almost a quarter of the rock outcrop (Figures 1 and 4), which formed the roof and the south-eastern wall of the cavity hewn out of this outcrop—originally enclosed on all sides—has been violently blasted away and plunged into the depths. It shattered halfway down its fall upon striking a corner of Rock No. 3, leaving a still visible

It was damaged in this way. Its fragments were scattered across the area between rocks 2 and 3. Some of them still appear to lie there, whilst the rest – and probably the carved pieces in particular – were likely reused in Count Hermann Adolf's fortifications around 1660.

The detachment of such an enormous section of rock, weighing several thousand hundredweight, was made possible by the fact that its entire north-western face (in Fig. 6) was not connected to the main rock mass at all due to a continuous fissure; that the base of the block, apart from the thin south-eastern wall of the cavity, had already been separated from the main rock mass by the excavation of that wall, and that the sole south-western surface connecting it to the main rock mass featured, precisely at this point, a continuous layer of gypsum which had already prepared the ground for detachment and offered only relatively little resistance to the blasting. Consequently, using the numerous methods available in ancient times for rock blasting, it was possible to detach the entire blasted block and initially cause it to shift. This made it possible, by applying a number of winches, to break through the thin south-eastern wall and push the block over towards the south-east until its own weight forced it to fall.

Whilst this blasting was carried out at the eastern corner of the rock, on the north-western side of this very rock, at roughly the same height but further down, a section of rock which supported a staircase leading up to the Sazellum beneath the so-called window (Figs. 5 and 6) was also blasted away. The staircase extended slightly beyond the window to three small, jagged remaining steps that are still present. Three holes, carved into the rock in a corresponding arrangement, bear witness to the former staircase; these may have served as support points for a lower section of the staircase. With the blasting of the rock section, the entire staircase has been removed. There are indications that there was also a walkway on the north-east side of the rock, which has likewise been destroyed.

Both the detachment of the upper part of the rock and that of the steps can be clearly identified by a striking difference in the degree of weathering. The colour and texture of all the other external surfaces of the rock suggest a vastly longer period of weathering than the colour and texture of the blasted surfaces.

There can be no doubt about these facts. The question that needs to be discussed is whether they might not also be attributed to natural processes, such as earthquakes or the gradual loss of cohesion due to weathering and the action of water. The idea that a natural event should have occurred simultaneously on two or three opposite sides of the rock, or indeed that several successive natural events should have occurred in such a purposeful manner as to shatter a man-made structure, the removal of which corresponded to the intense human efforts prevailing at a certain time, is from the outset of a high degree of implausibility from the outset.

But such a general consideration is not even necessary. For while 2*

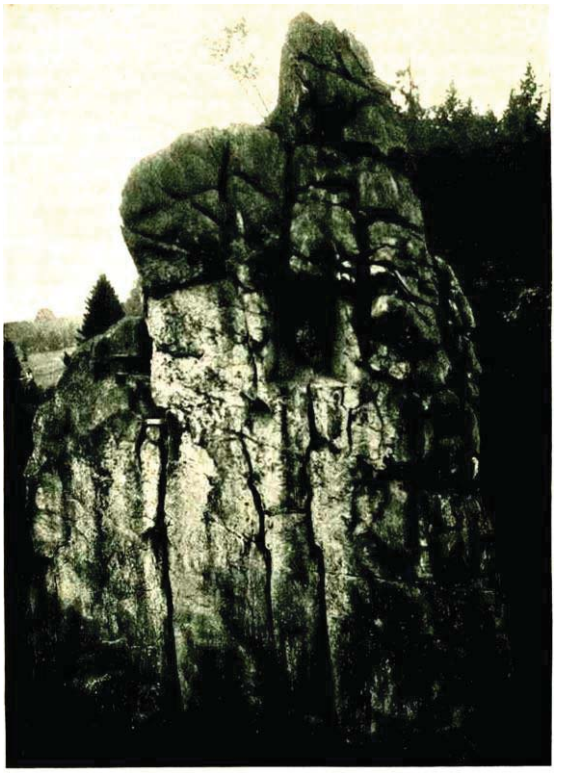


Abb. 5. Zerstörter Kopf des Turmfelsens (Nordwestseite)

Whilst a natural phenomenon is, after all, conceivable as the cause of the staircase's collapse, the fall of the boulder above the cavity must, for physical reasons, be regarded as impossible. After being dislodged from the main rock face by some force, the boulder could at most have pushed into the cavity and sunk down to its floor; but as long as this sufficient support was present — it is still there today — it had to remain lying on top, and all the more so as the cavity forced it to tilt not towards the south-east but towards the north-west.
It therefore remains only to assume a deliberate act of destruction,

At a dizzying height

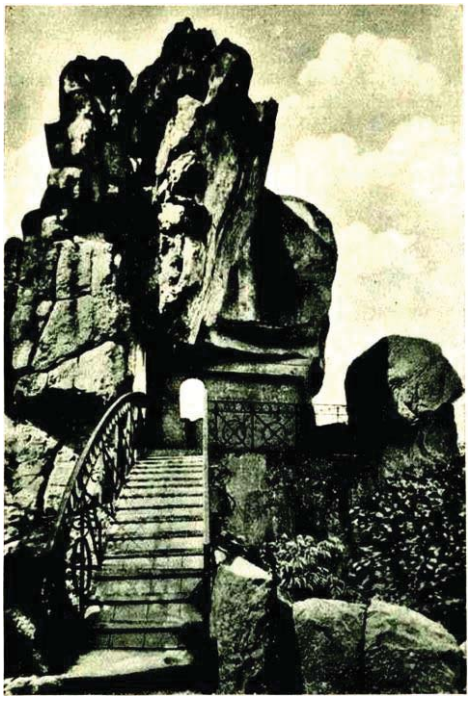


Fig. 6. Destroyed top of the tower's south-east side

which required a considerable investment of expertise and manpower, as well as energy, courage and time. Our knowledge of history does not allow for any explanation other than that the work was carried out at the time of the introduction of Christianity in this region, that is, from 772 AD onwards. The subsequent conversion of the site into a Christian chapel—which, incidentally, was poorly executed—is entirely in keeping with the practice customary at that time. The conversion of the sanctuary into a chapel was only carried out by the Worden monastery around the year 1350 (cite 44).

There are compelling reasons to believe that we are dealing with an ancient Germanic cult site that was deliberately destroyed but still retains its most essential features, namely a significant celestial sanctuary.

Figure 5 provides a good illustration of the Sazellum as it was restored by the monks following its destruction. Its floor area measures 8.14 x 5.11 metres (excluding the apse and niche). Hardly anyone would claim that it gives the impression of a Christian chapel. It contradicts virtually all the conventions followed in the construction of Christian places of worship.

The ‘apse’ is constructed in such a way that the priest would have to stand either to the right or left of the ‘altar’! This ‘altar’ makes a mockery of the requirements that ought to be placed upon it. With a width of 33 cm and a depth of 79 cm, it leaves no room for the sacred vessels, the missal, the crucifix, the holy lamp or the like. With the same effort and care with which this peculiar stand has been hewn out of the natural rock, one could have constructed a proper small altar and granted the priest a little space to stand in front of or behind it. Portable altars and catacomb altars must not be used for comparison here, as this is an altar of quite exceptional durability and spatial proportions, which certainly allowed for its normal positioning and a proper place for the priest.

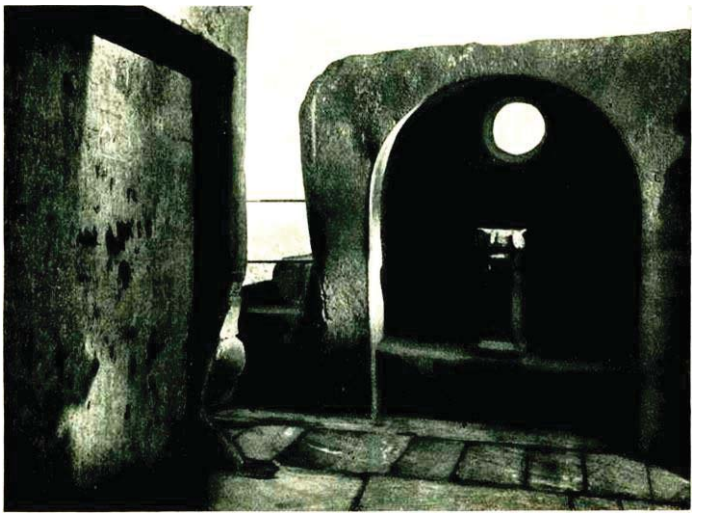
A square hole (6×6 cm in size and 6 cm deep) carved into the top of the stand would serve no purpose for an altar, but was well suited to accommodate an instrument used in astronomical observations, such as a shadow-casting device, which was placed in front of the circular opening situated above the stand. The small hole was entirely unsuitable for the storage of relics, of which, incidentally, the meticulous monastic records make no mention whatsoever. The circular opening above the stand, measuring 37 cm in diameter, bears very little resemblance to a Christian choir window.

On the opposite wall, spanning a width of 180 cm, there is a niche 40 cm deep and over a man’s height, solemnly flanked by two columns carved from the rock, without capitals. If one assumes this to be a Christian chapel, there is no explanation whatsoever for this arrangement. The columns appear to be ancient, but have been smoothed by later chiselling. In Malta, we have an ancient cult niche in front of a burial site that is entirely similar to ours.

Anyone looking at the so-called ‘window’ in the north-west face – visible in our rock-top photographs 5 and 6 – cannot help but shake their head at the naivety with which some writers on the Externsteine attempt to justify, or rather excuse, this opening cut through a rock 215 metres thick. This is difficult to accept in view of a supposed open-air chapel that already suffered from an excess of light. One of them mentions that it allows a view of the summit of the first rock! He would have done better to point to the sunset on the summer solstice, but that would not have suited the Christian chapel. This remark is not intended to offer an explanation for this enigmatic opening; I can only note that it shows signs of heavy use at the front of the Sazellum (noticeable in Fig. 6), that in the middle of its depth there is evidence of a heavy beam closure, and that it was accessible from the blasted-out staircase.

The following observation is now significant: the entire niche with the circular hole above the upright does not face east, but north-east towards

the sun setting on the summer solstice and aligned with the moon rising at the point of its northernmost orbit. From the very beginning, Christian places of worship have been oriented towards the east; the north-eastern orientation towards the summer solstice was frowned upon as pagan. Dnandns, Bishop of Mende, wrote in the 13th century: “One must lay the foundation so that the apse faces correctly towards the east, namely towards the sunrise on the equinox, and not towards the solstice (22 June, as some do).” Violations of ecclesiastical regulations and pagan



Such deviations seem to have occurred occasionally in secular architecture, particularly through the incorporation of older sculptural elements (cf. E. Jung, *German Gods and Heroes*, and E. Weiß, *St. Meinard*); where, however, monastic work was carried out, as here, such deviations are unlikely. Inaccurate determination of the orientation occurred in old churches up to > 1°: here, however, there is a 47° deviation from the orientation (Fig. N, page 1 >l.

The rock provided ample space for a location in accordance with the regulations; the north-eastern orientation was chosen with apparent intent, contrary to the natural direction of the rock face, with which the chosen longitudinal axis of the room forms an acute angle.

The hole is positioned at such a height that the first rays of the great celestial bodies rising behind the opposite hilltop on those days would strike the heads of the men standing in the room. Using a simple compass

it can already be established that the centre line of the room, passing through the centre of the hole, points in the required direction. Even assuming the structure is very old, the shifts in the positions of the sun and moon rises compared to today are not so great that the hole would no longer have allowed the rays to enter. Today, however, the solar azimuth at the summer solstice is 131° and the lunar azimuth at the northernmost extreme is 111°, whilst the centre line of the room, which Mr Müller (Düsseldorf, Winkelfelderstr. 31) has determined in a new survey relative to the apse wall (Fig. N), can be assumed to be 106–118".
For the room to be used as a place of worship, such an orientation would be...

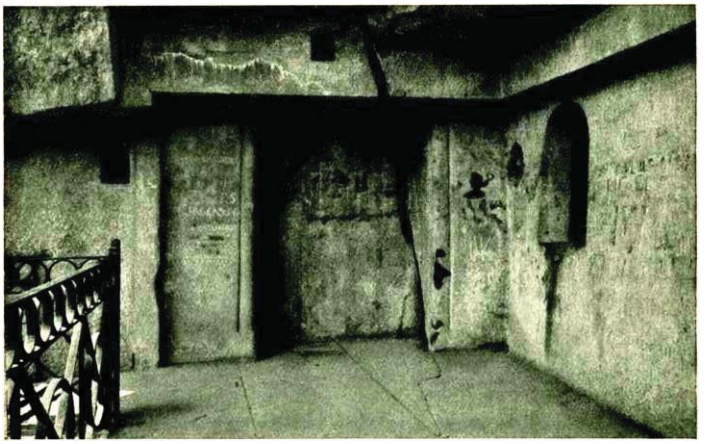


Fig. 8. Niche in the Sazellum

. If, moreover, it can be inferred that astronomically precise measurements were made on the Erternsteine, so that an answer to the question of the Sazellum's date of origin might be approached, this depends only on whether the evidence for the locations of both lines (for the solar line and for the lunar line) is regarded as satisfactory; for we may regard the general question concerning the astronomical activities and measuring skills of the ancients as answered by our Chapters 5 and 15.
The entire surface of the north-western side wall, the greater part of which is visible in Fig. K, has been carefully worked, more so at the top than at the bottom, by means of stone carving that is clearly of a later date than the rest of the stonework. The wall is likely to have borne images and symbols related to the use of the room, perhaps zodiacal images or runic symbols, which would have been regarded as an offence when the room was used for Christian purposes.

The ‘window’ discussed above and the so-called apse were subsequently given the shape of a neatly crafted round arch, and the straight lines are also the work of a later period, whilst the original work is recognisable everywhere by its rougher finish and more severe weathering.

The three small steps on the left-hand side of the apse, set into the rock face, are completely inexplicable in the current layout of the supposed chapel and cannot have served either for the priest’s use or for any other purpose connected with its use as a Christian chapel. The erection of a cross, which is rightly inferred from a recess situated above the sunhole, could have been carried out far more easily and safely from the inside. These steps actually presuppose the existence of the large rock fragment that has broken away and forms the ceiling of the chamber. They served to climb the rock outcrop, whether there was another sanctuary there or whether the ascent was undertaken for the purpose of observing the starry sky. On the remaining upper rock section, there is still a man-made groove in the appropriate place (not visible in our photographs), which appears to have served to support a handrail. The lowest steps of the staircase can be seen in Fig. 7.

Anyone who has convinced themselves that the Sazellum is a ruined cavity, yet refuses to draw the necessary conclusions and instead insists on attributing its origins to the Christian era, finds themselves in the awkward position of having to resort to implausible assertions – namely, either

> that the sensational marvel of a chapel, perched at the dizzying height of a 30-metre-high stone pillar, could not only have been built in historical times without a trace, but could also have been destroyed by a catastrophic event whilst all sources remained silent;

or,

> that the builders constructed the chapel within a rock face that had already been broken up, yet positioned the window as though they were dealing with a cavity in need of light.

The assumption that the Sazellum was a Germanic sanctuary dedicated to the worship of the stars has been further supported by the observation that an ancient association of old farmsteads in the wider surrounding area continued, right up until the middle of the last century, to celebrate the summer solstice at the Externsteine*. It is likely to be the very last of the pilgrimage sites that were once visited at the Externsteine according to ancient tradition. Since the orientation of the Sazellum takes equal account of the extreme positions of the sun and moon, provided we assume an age stretching back thousands of years; and since, furthermore, the rivalry between sun and moon worship in antiquity is becoming increasingly apparent, the view that we are dealing with a moon and sun sanctuary deserves to be given preference. The coexistence of both forms of worship is also most aptly illustrated by our Figure 42. For this

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' Zeitschrift Niedersachsen, 19 November 1904. – See also I. O. Plaßmann, Werte der Hadewlch.

One of Prof. Unger's most recent discoveries in Babylon is of great significance. He excavated two temples standing side by side, one dedicated to the sun and the other to the moon; the road leading from the sun temple is aligned precisely with the summer solstice, whilst the road leading from the moon temple is aligned with the northern extremity of the moon.

The local conditions at the Erternsteine hardly lend themselves to the assumption that this was the seat of the men whose task it was to observe the stars in a scientific sense. The indications that the positions of the sun and moon were astronomically determined from the Sazellum, and that the religious service was therefore not without a scientific basis, will be discussed in the chapter on 'Germanic Astronomy', which leads us to the seat of the astronomers.

Here, the question remains as to how the cult of the stars might have been practised in the Sazellum. We know nothing of sacrifices, which may well have taken place. On the other hand, it is possible to consider another aspect of the cult.

The enigmatic small cubic hole, located at the front of the Sazellum's pedestal, has already been mentioned. The most plausible explanation is that it was intended to cast a shadow, behind which a sacred ritual performed by the priests took place.

Since we know that the Indo-European (Proto-Germanic) peoples originated in the north, and since the connection between the fundamental religious ideas of all ancient civilisations has become unmistakably apparent, it must be regarded as not only permissible but also imperative for us to draw upon the religious systems of Oriental peoples, including the Sumerians and Babylonians, . For the decayed remains of Germanic wooden architecture and the largely destroyed—and in any case sparse—evidence of Germanic stone architecture, we may, proceeding with caution, seek to find a substitute within narrow limits in the traditions of the Orientals, which have been preserved under a more favourable star and rediscovered after a slumber of thousands of years.

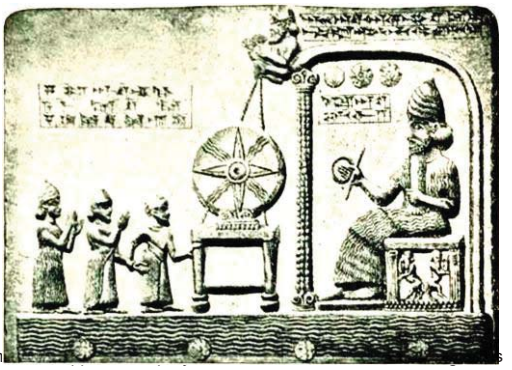
Here, then, is the image from Sippar (Fig. 9), which, with an inner compulsion, holds our gaze captive and is able to lead us out of our utter bewilderment regarding possible rituals in a Germanic celestial sanctuary. For us, the value and uniqueness of this image lie in the fact that it does not merely depict external appearances, but reaches the lofty heights of fundamental religious ideas. This is achieved through forms whose similarity to the situation in the Sazellum is hard to overlook. Let us consider the image from Sippar!

In the space to the left of the dividing pillar stand the priestly figures, depicted as small in comparison to the superhumanly powerful deity. They are intent on establishing a connection with the deity, on attaining a divine power that flows into their world through mysterious means. The deity sits enthroned, unapproachable and invisible, in another realm of the cosmos, symbolised by the sun, the moon and Venus as the starry sky. The underworld, subject to her, with its animal-like figures, lies beneath her seat, the whole set against the cosmic waters suggested by the waves.

Revelation through rays of light

Yet the Deity wishes to reveal itself to the human race from its inscrutability. It does so through the sun and its powers, represented by the Ning (serpent ring) raised high by the Deity's hand, together with the sceptre, which confers authority upon the king. It may be that the Sippar image specifically depicts the investiture of a king.

However, it is not the glowing and glaring rays of the sun themselves that bring the higher divine powers—otherwise, all people would naturally share in them. — Whilst the sun's rays are indeed the bearers of what the deity has to say and give to particular people, one attains these higher gifts only when the mundane is stripped away from the rays, in the shade: however



even now, provided that the lightning-thrower, which has been bound by human hands, is held by divine hands commissioned for the task. In this well-guarded manner, the forces become a fluid which, overcoming distance, air and matter, also flows through the holy table (the stand), passes to the high priest touching it, and also fulfils the one

. For the third, who is perm

he to be the witness that all proceeds in order, the candidate for the next incarnation? The rich symbolism of the image suggests that here every detail has its significance.

We would be hard pressed to be wrong in imagining that, in days gone by, the high priest in the Sazellum too would have placed his hand on the pillar bearing the shadow-caster, in order to pass on the power he had received by touching those who followed, and that everyone was convinced of the value and significance of this solemn act at that moment for their own thoughts, lives and destinies.

If we now further consider the passageway and the apse of the Sazellum, the former existence of which must be inferred from the alignment and the weathering conditions at this spot (Fig. <>, right), and regard it as the place from which the revelations intended for the crowd waiting below were communicated to them, the whole process becomes more vividly imaginable to us. Yet the search for a conception of things so remote from us

must be regarded as an indispensable means of approaching the truth.

Due to the mistake made by some tourists, who thought they had spotted the Hermann Monument on the ridge forming the north-eastern horizon of the Sazellum, I happened to notice a curious structure breaking the solitude of the forest, which comes into view through the gap in the trees. It is the Fissenknicker mill stump, which has been converted into a viewing tower from the Meinberg baths. It represents the astronomically correct reference point of the northern lunar extreme line. To the south-west, across the Varnacken, the line strikes the Kohlstadt ruins (formerly the 'Hünnenkirche' and 'Heidenkirche') at the same distance of 6'/- km and with the same precision. As both are archaeologically significant sites, the phenomenon made a deep impression on me and has indeed become a guide for me into the Oesterholzer Mark and for further astronomical observations — though this, of course, did not yet settle the question of whether the phenomenon was intentional or coincidental. For in such a region, prone to error, experience must be added to experience and fall into the same scale before the balance tips in that direction.

If three points of a certain nature align in a straight line,
one still reckon with this arrangement having come about by chance. If a fourth point of the same nature joins the same line, mathematical probability theory already points strongly to the improbability of chance. Here, however, the fourth point on the farthest horizon is the point of the moon's rising on the day of its northernmost extremity! In other words: the line passing through the four points is not just any one among the possible lines, but it is the moon line of great mythological significance for the age of celestial worship, and indeed with the precision of survey maps.

There was no doubt as to the considerable mythological significance of this line. It demarcates the part of the underworld into which neither the sun nor the moon nor any planet ever enters, and represents a path of the dead along which departed souls wander to Hel, a path that has its counterpart in the celestial bridge—the Milky Way.

The need for an intermediate station between Externsteine and Kohlstädt on the Barnacken should not be seen as a deterrent, as it stands to reason that the ancients in mountainous regions would not have allowed themselves to be hindered by such intermediate stations, if indeed they had even considered establishing such ritual routes criss-crossing the land. After all, it was not encouraging that only holes could be found on the Barnacken, the possible significance of which (cf. p. 202) was still unknown to me at the time.

This made it all the more worthwhile to investigate the significance of the site of the Fissenknicker Mühle, which, as a commanding vantage point near and overlooking the sacred groves of the Leistrup Forest (cf. p. 161) with their stone settings, sacrificial stones and burial grounds, naturally demanded special attention; it was the ideal site for a vantage point for public gatherings and festivals in the grove. Added to this was the discovery, based on documentary evidence, that one of the region's lost solitary chapels had once stood here on the adjacent plot of the 'Hünkemeier'. It follows that, during the period of transition, the need arose to rid the site of the evil spirits of the old faith that dwelled there. Above-

Thirdly, the site emerged during the investigation of the orientation system of the great Tentoburg as an intermediate point on the west-east line running from Tentoburg to Fissenknicker, the mill and the viewing tower via Schiederburg – a feature whose significance will become clear from the explanations in the chapter on location in this book.
Even more impressive, as far as the currently extant, visible evidence is concerned, is the 'Nohistädter Neue', because the origins of its structures date back to pre-Christian times. We shall have to devote a separate chapter to a detailed examination of it.
The exact location where Ivo once stood at the summer solstice at the Externsteine has now been identified. It is less than a kilometre

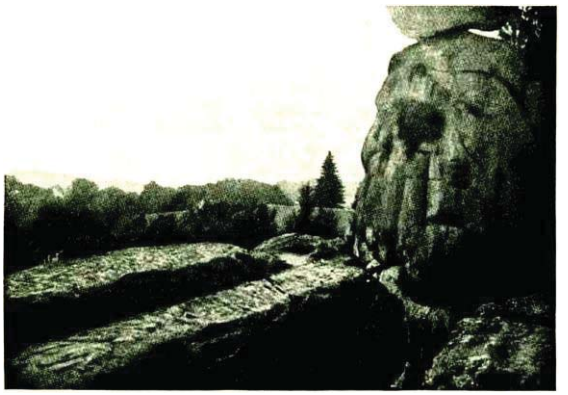


Fig. 10. Bridge bearing and Wackclstein

metres from the mill above Bad Meinberg — and found it! At the relevant spot, a few years ago I initially found only numerous stones lying scattered about, which — insofar as they were examined by an expert — all exhibit a 'bed-like' surface, as is required for cyclopean masonry. Below lies a quarry that is still in use. The effort required to reach the summit will certainly not be in vain, even if the distance is short. However, a newly discovered manuscript by Colonel Scheppe now provides evidence of the site dating back 60 years. Ramparts, ditches and stone rubble led Scheppe at the time to the conclusion that it was a place of worship. Our finding that this is the site of the Externsteine solstice monument (130°) confirms Scheppe's research.
Regarding Stonehenge, Lockper – following Niem – reports that the azimuth of the summer solstice at Stonehenge is -19° 05' 51" from north, i.e. 130° 21' 09"

(from the south) is confirmed by the fact that the azimuth from the centre of the temple towards SlO, 16 km away, marks a hill known as the ancient hill fort of Silbury or Sidbury, and that the same line, continuing via Stonehenge towards 8^, reaches another ancient fortified site called Crowley Castle, some 12 km away, at the same azimuth. “It is therefore simply a straight line between two hill forts, running through Stonehenge in the middle.” This gives us a perfect correspondence with our Externstein lines, and the “objection” regarding the uniqueness of such astronomical landmarks in the world is rendered invalid. ...

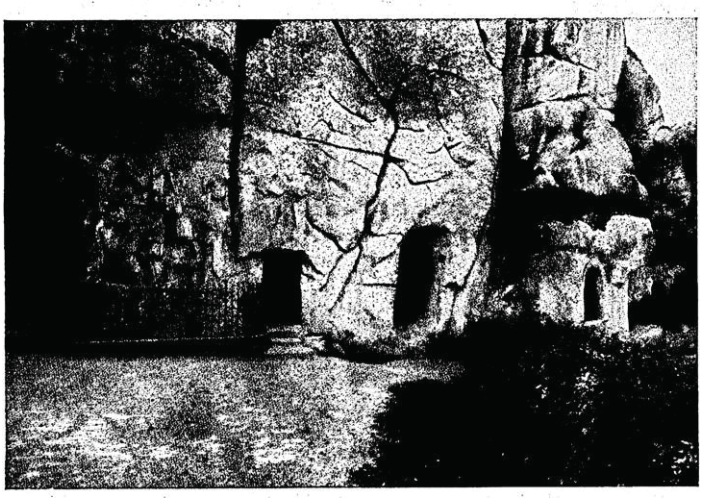
The great bridge from Rock 4 to Rock 3

On Rock No. 3, where the present-day staircase carved out of the rock meets the small footbridge leading to the Sazellum, one can see, looking back and downwards, a horizontal, perfectly straight, right-angled groove (groove) measuring 4 inches in length and approximately 35 centimetres in width (Fig. 10). It has no significance for the stone staircase leading up alongside it, nor for anything else. The weathering is considerably more severe than that of the staircase, and the stonemasonry also reveals a much greater age. The groove gives the impression of a bearing for a large beam. At the end facing Rock No. 2, there is a recess projecting outwards, formed at an angle of <15°, with sharp right angles, which evidently served as an abutment to prevent the beam from shifting longitudinally towards Rock No. 4. At a corresponding distance, where the natural rock stands at the same height as the beam bearing just discussed and is rather flattened over an even greater length, one can observe the unmistakable evidence of the bearing of a second beam, precisely parallel to the first beam bearing within a track width of 210 cm. Anyone observing these two beam supports cannot help but suspect that they must have been the abutments on this side of a bridge that ran from Rock No. 4 across the present-day country road to Rock No. 3. Confirmation that this was indeed a bridge of considerable size, with a span of about 21 metres, is provided by an examination of the conditions on the north-western bulge of Rock 4 itself. This is difficult to access and is not mentioned at all in the descriptions of the Externsteine. Here, one now finds areas on the rock that have been prepared by human hands, which can be explained by their purpose of serving as supports for a bridge, and furthermore the clear traces of a track hewn out of the rock, which appears to have been created to accommodate a large wooden staircase corresponding to the bridge. I shall pass over the other signs of human activity found on this inhospitable rock, including the drawing of a skull by pitting the stone, the carving of runes and the like — yet I do not wish to omit mentioning that the geologist Dr Wildschrey, Duisburg, on the basis of his observations through binoculars, describes the stratification of the famous wobbly stone on this rock (Fig. 10) as horizontal, whilst the stratification of the rock itself runs vertically, from which one would have to conclude that the wobbly stone was placed there by human hands, an almost impossible notion!

The lower grotto and its sacred symbol

A few minor observations should be mentioned first. On the south-western face of Rock 1 (Fig. 4), below the viewing platform built there—accessible only by ladder or abseiling—I found, on a well-levelled rock ledge, the unmistakable traces of a fairly spacious human dwelling. Further down, in a crevice, lie several hewn stones that may have belonged to the dwelling. Furthermore, at the outermost tip of Rock 1

Fig. 11. Front face of the lower grotto



towards the water, where the constriction caused by the surrounding rocks ceases, there are straight-edged recesses in the artificially levelled rock, set at right angles to one another. They enclose, over an area of 4×6 metres, the entire rock tip, which drops steeply on three sides, and may have served to support a heavy wooden railing. This feature suggests a significant cultic use.

On the side of Rock 1 facing Rock 2, there are strong indications of a former connection with Rock 2. It follows that Rocks 1–4 would have formed a coherent system for human use, the primary purpose of which is likely to be found in the sun and moon sanctuary of Rock 2. My further investigations have built upon this.

We now turn our attention to the large lower grotto in Rock 1. Its occasional use as a Christian chapel is attested by an old inscription

next to the entrance door, according to which Abbot Heinrich of Paderborn consecrated it in the year 1115 (ckeclicLvit) <Fig. 11).

This grotto has come to the forefront of our interest over the past year following a surprising discovery. Until then, the question remained as to whether it had really been hewn out of the rock by the people of Paderborn, or whether it might instead be of Germanic origin, centred on the absence of an altar area, the presence of a cauldron-like depression in the floor measuring 1 metre in diameter—which could not possibly have been used as a baptismal font—and a large tyrrune affixed to the rear side wall, the appearance of which suggested a very great age. Admittedly, the latter could not be considered a stonemason's mark simply because of its size (35 cm), but given the possibility that it might have been made at a later date, its evidential value could be disputed.

But then, in January 1020, a stroke of good fortune allowed us to witness a small miracle through the following occurrence: during a visit to the grotto with several friends interested in Germanic prehistory – a visit that is otherwise rare in winter – the entire bare rock surfaces of the inner grotto walls were uniformly covered with a beautiful, white hoarfrost. Nothing else was out of the ordinary, but from the white wall to the right of the old rune, a second rune of the same shape stood out in clear, dark lines, connected at the top to the old rune by a single horizontal line, so that a mighty double rune symbol (40×43 cm) now stood before our eyes!!

It turned out that the reason for this phenomenon was that the old, tough plaster, which had once completely covered the walls and had mostly fallen away, had remained adhering to the recesses of the newly discovered part of the rune and had prevented the formation of hoarfrost.

The hoarfrost had already disappeared by the night following the discovery; the photograph shown in Fig. 13 was taken a few weeks later after

careful softening and removal of the debris from the recesses. The runic inscription has now provided us with irrefutable proof of the grotto's age and offered an important clue to understanding its significance. The inscription was found beneath the plaster and is therefore older than the plaster itself. The plaster, however, must have been applied to the walls before the room was consecrated as a Christian place of worship. For, given the spiritual mindset of the early centuries of Christianity, it seems entirely inconceivable that a single Mass could have been celebrated in the room whilst the large pagan runic symbol, conspicuously visible to all, remained on the wall. It is a stroke of good fortune that it was not hacked away with axes at the time, but that people were content to cover it with plaster.
The identification of the symbol as an ancient ideogram of numerous ancient peoples associated with the winter solstice was first established in late May 1921 by Professor Herman Wirtz-Marburg and published in detail in issue 1 of 1929 of *Germanien* (Journal for Friends of Germanic Prehistory. One of the plates: Fig. 11). A few months later, traces of a large swastika that had been chiselled away were discovered in the grotto by a student from the Oldenburg Teacher Training College.

Taking into account all the features of the grotto, in particular its history and the varied stonemasonry, the following conjectures now present themselves. In this I essentially follow the observations of Lieutenant Colonel Platz, to whom we are also indebted for the floor plan (Fig. 10).
As an earthly representation and replica of the Earth's womb, into which the winter sun has entered, the grotto was by its very nature a lightless cave, and

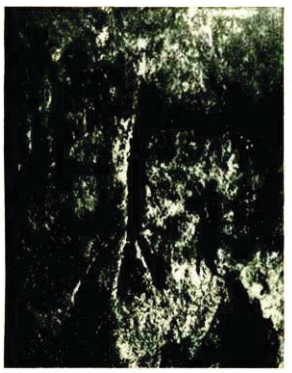


Fig. 13. Rune inscription prior to uncovering

Rune inscription after uncovering

It was hewn out of the rock using a hand axe and a hammer, making use of some existing cavities in the sandstone which are still visible today. The large nun symbol was situated at its northernmost end. The present door and window openings were cut through at a later date, and there are signs of this as well. Having discovered the entire runic inscription and recognised its meaning, I am all the more inclined to abandon my initial assumption that the grotto might have been the sanctuary's treasury, especially as the examination of a very small grotto situated to the right of it has yielded a result of considerable significance for this question. The latter was always very difficult to access and easy to guard, as its only possible entrance lies some 7 feet above the ground (see Fig. 11: the small opening at the right-hand edge). Its dimensions—1.50 metres in height, width and depth—render it unsuitable for human habitation; an adult can neither stand fully upright nor stretch out lying down. The only purpose that seems reasonable to us is therefore the storage of objects—

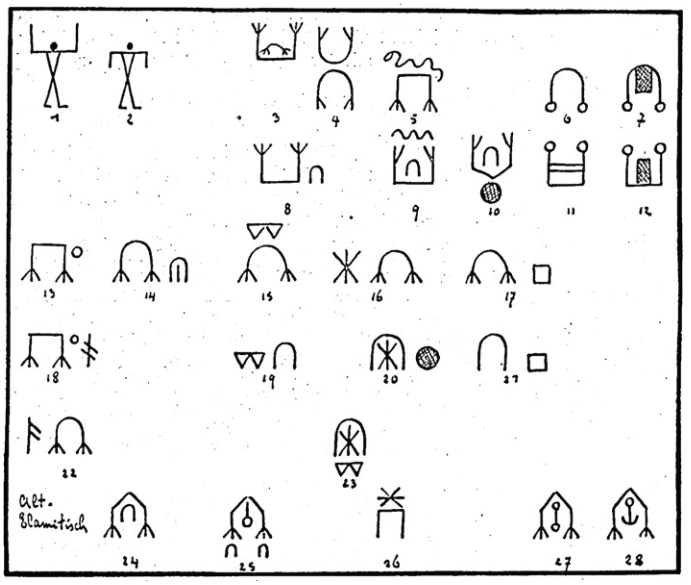
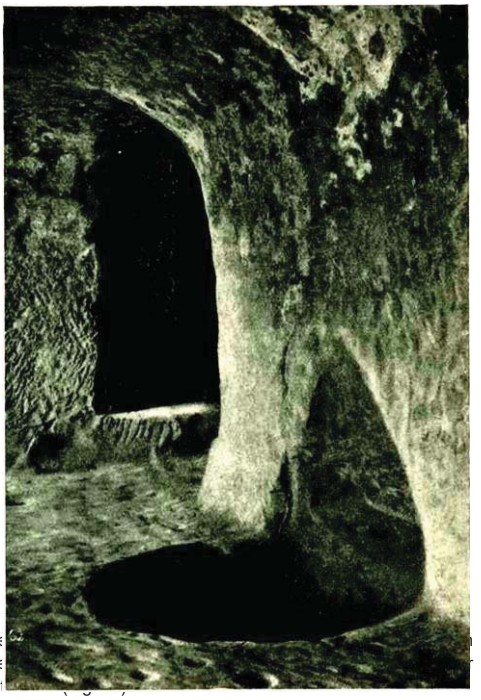


Fig. 14. Jdcogram table
According to Wirth, a pair of arms pointing upwards or downwards appears in the Neolithic rock carvings of the Predynastic period in Egypt and Ancient Elam, as well as in the megalithic cultures of the Atlantic North; in Egypt, it also features in later cult symbolism. Here, the meaning and significance for the cult of the sun is made unambiguous by the addition of qualifying signs: the ascent or
descent of the sun, the symbol of the Son of God, 'who bears the light of the lands'.

to be seen, namely of valuable objects not intended for the convenient use of everyone and used only rarely; otherwise, the effort required to construct the grotto and the difficulty of entering it would be entirely inexplicable. From Einhard's account of the theft of the gold and silver

by Charlemagne, we know with desirable historical certainty that there must have been a repository for such treasures at the Jrminsul.

If the remaining openings are of later origin, our large cave originally had its entrance through the south-western tunnel, which is still present but has been blocked off. This has been shortened to its present length by the still clearly discernible removal of a substantial section of rock and is likely to have begun between the two rocks 1 and 2, so that the entrance to the tunnel was through the rock cleft from the water side (south-west side) (Fig. 77).



F r o m this perspective, the so-called St Peter figure, which would be located in the tunnel, is hardly

. It would belong to the 'apostle the 16th century, Charlemagne to God following the act of dest

It is difficult to speculate on the cauldron-like depression in the floor of the grotto, unless A. Schierenberg's opinion is considered worthy of note. He believes that this is certainly an important artefact dating from the brief period of Varian rule, when, in many parts of the Roman Empire, following a favourite idea of Emperor Augustus, attempts were made to introduce the cult of Mithras

. When Varus began to do the same in Germania, this was said to have been one of the main reasons for the outbreak of the revolt. Schierenberg states that he has found similar cauldrons in all the Mithraic temples he has visited in south-western Germania, Italy and the Orient. However, this view seems to me to require further evidence (Fig. 10).

Fellen s a r g

Below the lower grotto, where the terrain drops steeply down to the Wiembeke (Sacred Brook, Wehmc-Weibe), lies the boulder containing the rock-cut coffin (Fig. 17). Carved into the base of a semicircular niche, measuring 1.80 m in length and shaped like a mummy, is a coffin that appears to have been created for the well-known ritual of coffin burial. For the person facing the coffin, there is a recess in the side

wall, shaped and positioned to fit the grip of the hand.

As far as I have been able to ascertain so far, the replicas of Christ's tomb found sporadically in Christian churches all have different dimensions, which make them appear unsuitable for the ceremony of the entombment. Such a ceremony has never had a place in the Christian church, whereas on the tombstones, the entombment is precisely the most striking purpose of the structure.

The idea that the rock coffin was created in the Middle Ages and was intended to serve as a magnet for pilgrims is completely unfounded. Not only does it lack any basis in the mere reference to the existence of the flat image, but it is also regarded as inconsistent for all periods by anyone who has closely followed the history of the Ertcriisleine in the Middle Ages (see page 10). It is not Christian, but pre-Christian pilgrimages that are relevant to the Externsteine.

The laying of the coffin is still part of the Freemasons' ritual today, with the exception of a higher degree. The ritual takes us far beyond the origins of the present order in England in 1700, back to the times of the builders' huts and from there back to the Germanic era. The forced adaptation of the inherently non-

Christian ritual to Christian, particularly Old Testament biblical, circumstances, persons and events is most clearly evident in the story of Hiram.

The purpose of initiation is most likely to be seen, not only in the Friman Order but elsewhere as well, as the taking of vows and the obligation to keep the mysteries secret. Mysteries played a major role in the ancient religions; this is
ancient peoples and were certainly present among the Germanic peoples as well. For where supernatural powers and wisdom are to be bestowed, where there

Fig. 17. Felsensarg

divinations and prophecies, there are also mysteries and rites binding one to secrecy.

In Tacitus' *Germania* III, we find an account of a solemn ceremony performed by the Semnones in one of their sacred groves, which gives the distinct impression of referring to the burial of a body accompanied by appropriate rites. A man is laid to rest. Only delegations, that is, those in the know, are permitted to take part, provided they identify themselves by means of a twisted cord tvinc-ulo Im-UurO, etc. Tacitus, who naturally did not derive his knowledge from an insider but from hearsay, and who, moreover, views these incomprehensible matters through Roman-tinted spectacles, imagines a ritual murder and produces a wild tale. It is regrettable that German

' A stonemason at Solomon's Temple is said to be Master Hiram of Tyre, the builder of the

translators take the term ‘eaeckere’, used with remarkable caution by Tacitus, which can only mean ‘to kill’ in a figurative sense, but in its ordinary meaning must be rendered as ‘to fell’,
‘strike down’ or ‘knock down’, thoughtlessly intensify it and render it as ‘slaughter’. The idea that evidence of Germanic human sacrifice is generally very scant is evidently still far from their minds. The reverence for accounts of atrocities, provided they originate from classical authors, remains astonishingly great.
A new observation, valuable in itself and complementing our view, now comes to light.
On the rear, highest part of the boulder containing the rock coffin, two previously unnoticed small staircases, each consisting of several steps hewn from the rock, lead to a small platform on which just one person can stand. Our Fig. 18 shows the boulder photographed vertically from above; anyone standing on this highest point of the boulder, reached via the two staircases, looks – with their back to the slope – towards the north (Fig. 19).
This curious little space, for which the effort of constructing two staircases was certainly not in vain, recalls a custom whereby the priest ascends to the altar on one side and descends from the altar on the other. Is this a Christian custom still observed here and there in the Christian church today, or has it passed into Christian practice from pre-Christian customs? The answer to this question came to me quite unexpectedly in the form of an article sent to me from an illustrated magazine on Peruvian places of worship of the Maya and Inca, whose religious beliefs show striking similarities with the religions of the Ancient World, so that there can be no doubt as to their common roots. To our astonishment, in a picture in the article (Fig. 20) we see that the Incas, too, had a spot just like the one at the Externsteine, connected to other sacred sites, to which two staircases led, one for ascending and one for descending; for without assuming this purpose, the structure would be even more incomprehensible.
In any case, the Jnkas’ seat there in distant Capacabana, like the spot above the rock coffin at the Externsteine, was a solemn place, a place of prayer, a place of proclamation, a place of vows for the man primarily involved in a ritual act – at the Externsteine, presumably for the novice, either before or after the coffin was laid to rest.

The facts set out here should serve to shed new light on the overall significance of the Externsteine in pre-Christian times and, beyond that, on the culture of our Germanic ancestors as well as on the historical events surrounding the introduction of Christianity. Just as it was always the aim of conquerors to strike the people they sought to subjugate at their most vulnerable point, at the very heart of their national life, so too may we assume that Drusus, Varus, Germanicus and Charlemagne did not undertake their campaigns to the Teutoburg Forest without good reason. This region — between the mountains in the south-west and the Weser bend in the north and east — was therefore hardest hit by the destructive zeal of the early Christian era. A thorough cleansing was carried out

Fig. 18. Block of the Fclsensarges (with the stairs cut out vertically from the top)

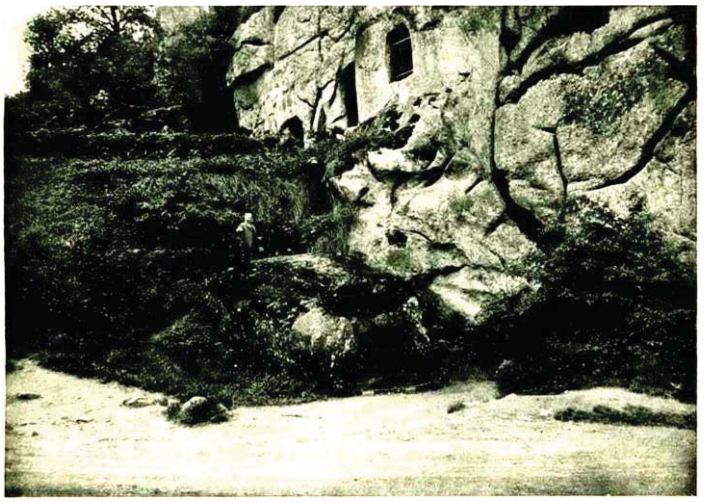


Fig. 19. Block of the Fclsensarges (view from the rear of parts of the block)

Yes, Charles the Great himself, when he spent several winter months at Herlingoburg in Lügde and celebrated Christmas there. From the history of those days, no other purpose for this conspicuous stay can be discerned; Charles's regiments had plenty to keep them occupied.

Our overview map covers the area around Lsning, to which Karl primarily turned his attention.

History of the Externsteine

In Norse antiquity, sacred persons and places were often given multiple names. For us, who would prefer to summarise everything in paragraphs, this is

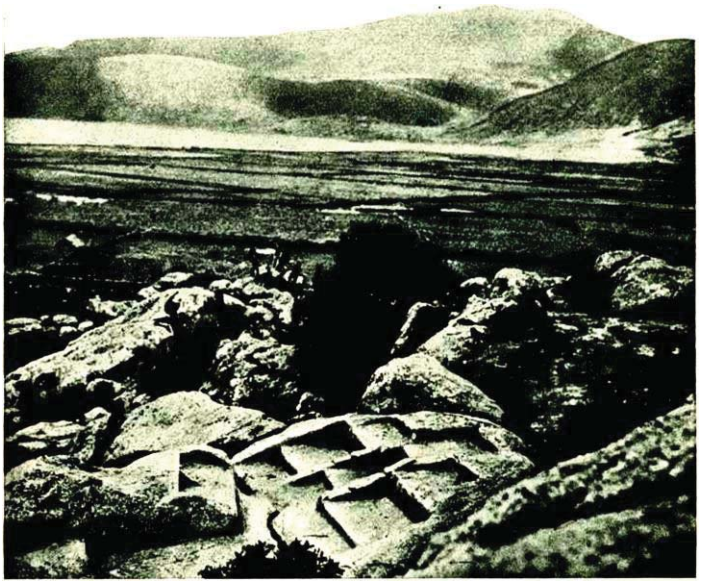


Fig. 20. Throne of the Incas

practical; but back then it was popular and certainly helped to ensure that there were no dogmas and that people let one another do things their own way.

That is why, alongside the well-attested ‘Eggesternstein’, it may also be associated with the name “Agisterstein”, as used in the deed of sale from 1093, is correct — not in spite of, but precisely because of the similarity in sound. There are several noteworthy attempts to explain the mysterious word “Agister”. We are best advised to confine ourselves to the actual main name Eggesterenstein (with a slight variation in spelling), the only one that has stuck in popular usage; it has been worn down to Externstein. We adhere to Professor Giefers’ detailed investigation. There is all the less reason to contradict him, given that this Paderborn archaeologist, incidentally, holds the view that the ‘chapels’ originated in Paderborn. He thus acknowledges, with remarkable objectivity, a name that strongly supports a view very different from his own.

Those interpretations that stem from a connection with ‘Elster’—names derived from the medieval reinterpretation ‘ruoes niearum’—are out of the question, especially as it is contrary to the nature of the magpie to nest on rocks. Most interpretations suffer from contrivance when compared to the simplicity of the time-honoured name ‘Eggesterenstein’. Eggesterenstein is the ‘star stone’ at the Egge. For ‘Große Egge’ and ‘Kleine Egge’ are still the names of two hills today, at the foot of which the Externsteine lie. The reference to celestial worship inherent in the name is likely to have been, unconsciously, the sole reason for some people’s resistance to it.

According to Dr Otto Hauser, the successful discoverer of sites, remains and evidence of prehistoric man, the Externsteine must have invited prehistoric man to use them whenever he was in this area, and specifically at one particular spot: deep down at Rock 1, at the Vach, where the small lake now meets it (Fig. 4). Then, at some point during the Early Stone Age, the use of this rock formation—unique in the wider region—for essentially cultic purposes must have begun.

Through constant expansion and manifold development, what emerged gradually was likely to have emerged from the depths of the Germanic millennia right up to the time of the conversion of this region. The evidence available to date provides no more precise information regarding the date of origin of the individual cultic structures; we must content ourselves with the distinction between ‘Christian’ and ‘pre-Christian’ until, for instance, excavations provide clues as to the date of origin for this or that feature. Nor are the lines of the Sazellum’s ground plan sufficiently certain and precise to provide an adequate basis for calculating its date of origin from the precession of the position of the sun or moon (Fig. 3).

By contrast, the boundary between the Germanic and post-Germanic periods—namely the reign of Charlemagne, and specifically the year 772—is clearly and precisely defined

i Gieser, Die Externsteine, an archaeological-historical monograph, 2nd ed., Münster 1867.

as the year of the destruction of the Jrminsul, the location of which must be dated to the same time as the discovery of the Externsteine.

Even if the Jrminsul were not to be considered, it is impossible to assume that Charlemagne would have allowed the place of worship at the Externsteine to remain when, in 772, he advanced northwards towards the Externsteine as far as Altenbeken with the resolve to violently suppress the old faith.

The Saxons, initially unprepared for war with the West Frankish power,

Then, paralysed by the shock of this unheard-of act—which now joined the ranks of other atrocities committed in Germania by foreign emissaries—and internally divided into religious factions, they succumbed in a thirty-two-year struggle for their freedom.

The supreme sanctuary of the Germanic tribal confederation at Osning Ivar had become a ruin, and with the public administration of the pagan service in the Sazellum, it was all over for all parties, even though there was no lack of secret attempts to maintain it. For Charlemagne, however, given the circumstances of his time, there was no doubt that a place of worship for the new faith must be established on this very spot.

When, in the 16th century, the news of Hamelmann that, according to ancient sources, Charles the Great that, according to ancient sources, Charlemagne

If he had indeed converted even the Erternsteine into a Christian place of worship, one can scarcely imagine a more credible account from that period. There is no way that Charles could have been content merely to destroy this site if he was serious about eradicating what he believed to be devil-worship; and he was certainly serious.

We must therefore date the early conversion of one of the two grottos into a chapel back to the time of the Saxon War. We shall think of the winter of 781–85, when Charlemagne, whilst in nearby Schieber (Lügde), had sufficient time to oversee the conversion and the decoration with images of the Apostles, as reported by Hamelmann. The notion that it was merely a hermitage is ruled out by Hamelmann's account.

The Sazellum had become an inaccessible ruin. Given its

visitors, it was in any case not initially considered as a chapel (Fig. 3).
In contrast, the lower grotto in Rock 1, which had hitherto represented the womb of the earth, was fitted with a convenient door and window openings and converted, as best as possible, into a place of worship. This included plastering the rock walls, which also served to conceal the large runic symbol.
This resolves the historical implausibility that the Christian Church should have left this site to the followers of the old faith and to the devil for 300 years (until 1115) without taking any countermeasures.
If Charlemagne had to ‘erect an altar’ here, then we must also take the account of his decoration of the Externsteine with images of the apostles very seriously. Considerations as to the extent to which Charlemagne was involved not only in the removal of the Germanic sculptures that were likely present, but also in their replacement by the figure of St Peter and the large panel next to the new entrance door, are entirely justified. However, a peaceful creation of the panel right up to its completion is unthinkable given the circumstances of the time. The image itself speaks volumes on this matter.
The subjugation of Saxony turned out differently than Charles had anticipated. For another 20 years following his stay at Schieder, the balance of power at the Externsteine continued to shift, and periods of mass readings were followed, time and again, by years in which the old faith triumphed. -
Indeed, even as late as around 1100, the Externsteine must have remained the contested scene of bitter struggles between the fading old faith and its opponents. The fact that the noble family of Holzhausen, to whom the ownership and custody of the rocks had been transferred, was unable to maintain order and religious services is evident from the two facts that in 1093 the Paderborn monastery of Abdinghof decided to purchase the site and that the chapel — probably after the completion of the flat painting — was reconsecrated by its Bishop Heinrich in 1115.
But even the episcopal consecration failed to bring about a satisfactory state of affairs. Up in the ruins of the Sazellum, the devil still lurked, and down in the eerie chapel, besieged by evil spirits, the Masses—celebrated only rarely and irregularly by the priest from Horn—would have attracted no worshippers at all. And why should they? The area around the Externsteine was deserted; the inhabitants of Horn and Holzhausen had their own places of worship and would have been careful not to visit the notorious site—where there were not even the relics of saints or miraculous powers—without good reason.
Under such circumstances, Paderborn ceased holding Mass and now attempted to preserve the Christian character of the rocks by converting them into a hermit’s cell. Through the addition of several walls, traces of which are still visible today, the chapel was transformed into a dwelling.
This, of course, marked the beginning of the worst period in the history of the Externsteine. The hermits, who must have been chosen from among men of a naturally robust and combative disposition, capable of confronting the dangers of that accursed place even by unspiritual means, became highwaymen. Poor provisions

passing through Paderborn, where at that time a spirit of gluttony on the one hand and the oppression of the lower classes on the other had taken hold, and the tempting opportunity to make up for their losses by plundering the treasures of the merchants travelling from Paderborn to Hamelin or vice versa is likely to have prompted the monks to bring this disgrace upon themselves and the venerable place of worship.

When, around the year 1350, the situation had escalated into an outright scandal and the frightened population demanded a remedy, the ruling Count Bernhard of Lippe felt compelled to take the matter most seriously and restore order. However, this could only be achieved by entering into conflict with the monastery. Abbot Leonard was stripped of his right of patronage and administrative authority, both of which were transferred to the Benedictine Abbey of Werden an der Ruhr, which already held property rights in the neighbouring village of Oberholzhausen.

A monk from Werden was now appointed as chaplain at the Externsteine. It is during these years that we must date the conversion of the small chapel at the top of the tower rock into a proper chapel. For only this period can explain the origin of an ancient legend containing very specific details; it rules out any other possibility. The legend is reported in detail by Bessert and reproduced by Menke. The priest lived in Holzhausen.

The story begins: “When the airy chapel on one of the Exter stones was completed, it was to be consecrated and the first Mass celebrated there by the monks of Werden.” But the devil, “who had been up to his old tricks here only a short while ago”, wanted to kill him first. “Satan had long been sticking out his fiery tongue; short flashes shot from his eyes and flames spurted from the tips of his horns.” This was noticed by the monk in the still-dark early morning, so that he was able to make a half-turn to the left and reach the entrance to the chapel behind some bushes. Then the black fiend seized a huge boulder and hurled it, missing the monk, up to the summit of Rock 4, where it still lies today as a loose stone. The monk, having reached the top and now inspired by an unusual courage, climbed the three steps that had miraculously appeared before him and, in the glow of the rising sun, sent a mighty torrent of holy water towards the Prince of Darkness from the pinnacle of his ethereal temple. The devil, staggering back in a daze, lost himself in a hollow oak, and there was no lack of a sudden bolt of lightning that utterly destroyed the oak, leaving not a trace behind.

It is noteworthy that, as late as the mid-14th century, the celebration of the first Mass in the Sazellum was still regarded as a special event and was typically embellished with tales of miracles; this was undoubtedly because, up to that point, there were still adherents of the old faith who, through their secret gatherings in the Sazellum, had given the place a reputation as an eerie, devil-haunted site.

The use of the Sazellum as a Christian chapel lasted from around 1350 until 1538 at the latest, when the Reformation was introduced in Lippe. According to Gemmecke’s careful findings regarding the Catholic parishes in Lippe, only very few masses were celebrated annually—about three in winter and about * History of the Diocese of Paderborn I, p. 148 cx 8l>ncruario packerbornenri mipro. – Menke, History of the Externsteine, pp. 106 ff., Münster 1829.

5. Under no circumstances do the generally appalling conditions at the Externsteine during the Middle Ages, nor their use for cultic purposes, justify the frequently expressed view that they were once a famous Christian place of pilgrimage. Not only are the essential prerequisites lacking, but the actual circumstances suggest the opposite: namely, that the site was shunned because of the evil spirits said to haunt it.

The persistent folk tradition of the famous place of pilgrimage supports the assumption that the memory dates back to Germanic times, as all the conditions for crowds to gather at the Externsteine were present. It was there, especially at the summer solstice, that the worshippers would have received the revelations which the priests in the sanctuary had received, for instance, in the cone of shadow cast by the rising summer sun; and when the Jrminsul stood there, when the stone circles on the Bärenstein lent themselves to sacred prayer rituals, when the solemn rites and sacrifices in the grove by the great Egge beckoned, and the games on the adjoining 'Langenberge' enticed, then it is understandable that the Externsteine offered a far-reaching.

The last traces of the Germanic sanctuary's appeal have even survived into the mid-19th century. We recognise them in the custom described above, whereby members of a 'Wehrenverband'—an association of ancient Lower Saxon farms from a very wide area—undertook an annual journey to the Externsteine to celebrate the summer solstice.

This entire view is illuminated by the only historical account from the post-Reformation period that has come down to us, which refers to the cultic nature of the Externsteine.

It was in 1654 that the Grand Duke of Florence, through the mediation of the Dean of Paderborn Cathedral, entered into negotiations with Count Hermann Adolf von Lippe with a view to purchasing
"the" Externstein for 50,000 Florentine crowns and 4,000 Reichsthaler. This art-loving gentleman was determined to add the famous flat painting to his collection, without having the slightest idea of the exact circumstances or the size of the "stone". This probably caused some head-shaking in Detmold, where it was thought that 'the transport would likely cost half the value of the Grand Duchy'; but the Landdrost von Donop nevertheless wrote a letter of support to Chancellor Tilhen in view of the substantial sum of money involved. This letter contains the remark of interest to us regarding what people at the time thought of the significance of the Externsteine: '... considering that this stone has not in fact profited His Grace the Count in any way, nor does he regard the supposed holiness of this place, but rather considers it idolatry, and also ...' etc. Ter Landdrost is saying that, for reasons of Christian piety, there is no need to refrain from this profitable venture, because the Externsteine are not a holy place, but rather a place of idolatry, where the image of the Descent from the Cross need not be left. He was therefore prepared to have the rock 1 destroyed to the extent necessary to make the flat image transportable.

Count Hermann Adolf could not, of course, bring himself to do this; on the
on the contrary, he now took an interest in the Externsteine, which until then had most likely

, and built a hunting lodge next to them, only to then come up with the whimsical idea of turning the Externsteine into a small fortress.

We have a 17th-century drawing of the fortifications—which, admittedly, soon fell into disrepair and were completely removed by Princess Pauline in 1810—in which, although no attention was paid to the accuracy of the rock formations, it does explain some of the puzzling features.

In any case, the construction of the fortress and the period of its occupation have caused considerable damage to the preservation of the ancient site. In particular, the elevation of the ground in front of Rock 1 and Rock 2 has been altered, thereby greatly reducing the prospects of success for the planned excavation work. At the summit of Rock 1, a landslide has occurred and the site has been developed; this may initially have served as a viewing point for the garrison and is still climbed today by the many visitors who come to the Externsteine as a destination for day trips and recreation.

. The view is beautiful, as it is in countless spots across the Lipperland, a region abounding in natural beauty. Added to this is the sight of the rugged rock formations, which stand out all the more impressively against the gentle landscape of mountains and hills, and the high artistic value of what is probably the oldest large German panel painting is sure to make an impression even on the most casual observer.

But only those who do not shy away from the second ascent to the tower rock and who, in the Sazellum, reverently and devoutly commemorate the times when the great priests of our Germanic antiquity served here, in this space of the ‘inexplorative divinity’, in their own way, and when, on festive days, a listening crowd gathered down below, or a solemn ceremony took place in the lower grotto or at the rock coffin.

Even though the vicissitudes of the Externsteine’s history have buried and obscured many traces of their former significance, it is by no means impossible that, once the veil has been lifted, new discoveries and observations may yet allow important elements to be incorporated into the historical and factual picture of the Externsteine—and thus into our understanding of the Germanic past.

z. Jrminsul and the rock carving

^>According to all the accounts in the annals, which differ little from one another, from the ^^-During the Carolingian period, Charlemagne, determined to subjugate the Saxons completely and, even more disastrously, to convert them by force, set out from Mainz with his army, took Eresburg (Obermarsberg) by surprise, and then moved to a -place from which he destroyed the Jrminsul, 'the supreme sanctuary of the Saxons' has. This spring is described so clearly by a miraculous healing process that one must conclude with absolute certainty that it refers to Altenbeken. For the army, parched by the prevailing drought, was quenched by a spring that gushed forth unexpectedly (^»liitu, «iniil-l>u8 in8vH8). The only notable intermittent spring that existed in the old Saxon lands can be considered for this event. This was the 'Bullerborn' near Altenbeken, whose intermittent nature ceased around the year 1610. We still possess a fine engraving of the "kone-lo-inini" from that time. From the valley near Altenbeken, which is still called "Frankental", one reaches the Erlern-steine via Veldrom along a comfortable old road— , in , a two-hour walk (lll l<m). From there, the route follows an ancient road via Fissen-knicker mill to Schieber, (Altschieder, Sie via Lemgo to Nehme on the Weser, wh

any case, Charles, who was staying in Altenbeken, could not have failed to notice the sanctuary at the Externsteine. Abel also says to the Qnellenwnnder: 'No other location can be meant here. Where the Frankish army was encamped, and there, about 0 hours' march north of Eresburg, the Ermensul must also have stood.'

The Jrminsul, of which there must have been many in the Germanic lands, and which later gave rise to confusion with statues of Germanic heroes, was a 'Göhenbild' or, as the more reliable tradition puts it, a 'rnnaiin', a wooden effigy which

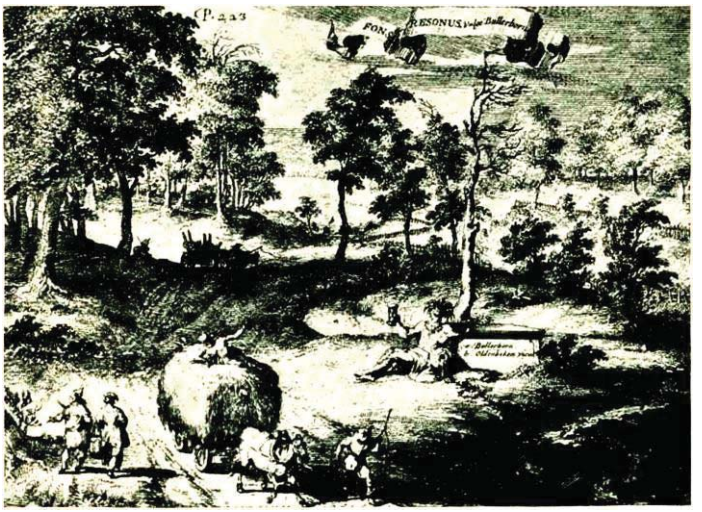
was symbolically conceived as the bearer of the universe and undoubtedly had a corresponding design. It was thus a symbol of deep, restrained religious sentiment and universal religious thought. We believe that the Erternsteine within the Deposition of Christ scene preserve a faithful representation of this symbol, which will be discussed below. As for the significance of the Germanic Jerm columns and their names, I refer the reader to the numerous and extensive discussions that have addressed these questions.

Such rot in the wood, however severe it may have been, could be destroyed in a matter of hours. When we read that Charlemagne had to take 2–3 days to carry out the work of destruction from Altenbeken — 'ut kunclitus ckestruorot' — it follows that this supreme sanctuary of the Saxons must have consisted of more than just a wooden pillar. If the destruction by Charlemagne's engineers could not be completed within two or three days (which, however, is strongly disputed by experts), Charlemagne probably made use of the winter of 885–86, when he was staying in Schieber, a few hours' journey away, over Christmas.

We reflect on the significance of the Externsteine as a Germanic sanctuary of a special kind, one to which certainly few other sanctuaries in the ancient Saxon lands could be compared; we are convinced that neither Charlemagne nor the Church, given their fundamental stance at the time, could have left such a sanctuary intact; we recall the hopelessly futile search to date for the site of Jrminsul; and when we then hold both images vividly before our eyes — firstly, the king, fanatical through the divine miracle, as he cries out 'God wills it' to his army at Altenbeken, and secondly, the ruins of the Sazellum in the evidently shattered top of the tower rock — then the historical probability arising from the actual circumstances for the present solution to the Jrminsul question appears to us to be overwhelming.

The latest research by Rev. Hans Schmidt (Vaterl. Blätter, Jan. 1930, Detmold) also reaches the same conclusion as we do: "The community of Jrminsul is identical to the Extern stones". He reaches this conclusion after a careful examination of the records and the consultation of old, forgotten material, some of which dates back as far as the fourth and eighth centuries AD. Of particular significance is also his evidence: "The idol was overturned and burnt; it must therefore have been made of wood. The saera, i.e. the sacred structures, were destroyed, naturally including the sculptures of Mars, Mercury, etc. But the material from which they were carved—the stone pillars 'of the greatest height', the pyramids (i.e. not just one)—these were not removed. At first, as rough masses of stone, they did not stand in the way of the Christianising purpose; then the complete destruction of the sanctuary itself (psräestruotion) took place in haste and with great difficulty,
"barely" in three stages, as is expressly attested. Of a later, subsequent
There is no further mention in any historical source of the destruction of the pillars—whose strength was still the subject of 'miraculous tales' even later (in the 14th century)—or indeed of the Jrminsul itself. Only once, in reference to the year 936, does Dittmann's Chronicle mention a church of St Peter, 'where the Jrminsul was once worshipped by the ancients'. However, the context is not entirely clear. Widukind (Ner. Ges.

(Zar.) does not, for example, refer to the ‘Jrmininl’ in the same passage. I)i. Schmidt thus interprets the Old German glosses and those of Henricus de Hersordia, as well as his sources, to mean that the Jrmininl consisted of several parts: a wooden statue, stone pillars with carvings and sacred war emblems; and that, within the actual boundaries of Charlemagne’s campaigns, only the Externsteine can be considered as the remains of this ‘mighty high’ folk sanctuary. But that is not all; we also have compelling historical evidence that Charlemagne himself took an interest in the Externsteine, converting a



Germanic sanctuary located there into a site of Christian worship and devoted his special care to the new place of worship by adorning it with images; the Externsteine, with their name as used in Latin writings
“liunes I>ie-truiu” is explicitly mentioned. The account comes from Hermann Hamelmann, a historian of the Enlightenment period who is still held in high regard today, who wrote in 161 in his *Iwlüueutül Onniüoruin IVVstialiuo*: “Ilornv... ox vielaa reine nwu.i'>m>, untinuo »lonninento, cui»8 vvtsrv8 «erintores inentlonein wi'oi nilt, <lnn>t. I.iil-i !^lil,nu»Il», niiycl I'x ruili" lllu n>I irriiio, iäolo ßis'Ntllltli,, f>>,'orit tlirsllluel iilarrinis rütln ,? Seter.ltlili, vt ornrituiii oillsiekus auostnlorum. (Horn is famous for an ancient monument, the Externstem, which the ancient writers mention. I have read previously that Charlemagne had a sacred altar erected at that Externstem, which was a pagan folk sanctuary, and had it adorned with images of the Apostles.)

Although the Frankish annals do not mention the name of the place where Charlemagne carried out his act of destruction, knowledge of it nevertheless slipped through and found its way into medieval writings which Hamelmann had access to, but which, like many others, have since been lost. Who has the right to brand the credible Hamelmann a liar, in order to evade acknowledging the destruction of the sanctuary at the Erternsteine by Charlemagne?

Onl

y in Grnpen and Lchierenberg did the conclusion regarding the Jerminsul, which must be drawn from Hamelmann, come to light.

The reader will be as shocked by this as I was: that the Hamelmann report, so crucial to the Erternstein question and which, in the discussions of the main

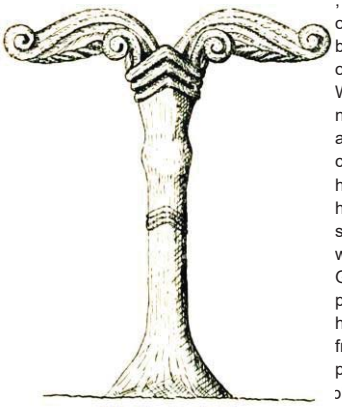


Abb. 24. Irminsul

, is not even mentioned by most commentators, or at least not properly addressed, because it has been brushed aside with disregard for the otherwise entirely impeccable historian.

What are we to make of this in the Genoa narrative, which repeatedly contradicts the accounts of the survivors? It is indeed as if a current of anti-Germanic sentiment, driven by a hostile spirit, were running through the entire history of the Germanic peoples. This current has succeeded in silencing or rendering ineffective whatever might contribute to a vivid picture of Germanic history. The twenty books of Pliny, probably antiquity's principal work on Germanic history, have been lost; likewise the writings and fragments of Livy, Tacitus and others, frequently precisely at points where

oles was bound to emerge. The *Nibelungenlied* loss, which suggests, at the very least, an almost monstrous indifference on the part of their owners. Tacitus's *Germania* and other works, too, have only come to light again after a long period of obscurity. Grimm also counts the following among those that have vanished without a trace: Nicholas of Damascus, Labianus, Ermintinus, Agrippa, Augustus, Ansidinus and Basino. As for any objective writings that may have existed concerning the later centuries and the Christian era, not even the names of the authors are known.

One simply cannot help but perceive in all this a certain pattern reflecting the workings of the aforementioned anti-Germanic spirit. The fruits of this spirit, above all the prejudice against Germanic culture, are evident not only in the bearers of the names in question. Gustav Neckel writes in 'Germans and Celts', page 21, in one of his striking examples concerning the great Mommsen: 'In all circumstances, however, the author's bias is plain to see.' There is ample reason to believe that

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The existence of valuable temple treasures in the Germanic sanctuaries, however, is a fact that has hitherto gone unnoticed, one which we wish to commit to memory with particular emphasis and a thoughtful mind.

This new understanding of the significance of the Externsteine in pre-Christian times also influences our assessment of the large rock relief. Two questions arise: are there indications that the Christian image of the Descent from the Cross supplanted a pre-existing Germanic image, in much the same way as the upper and lower sanctuaries were converted into chapels? Can connections be found in the Christian image to the significance of its location?

The lower panel, upon which the main panel is based, has posed the greatest difficulty for all commentators. It depicts two kneeling figures entwined by snakes or dragons, alongside a large bird, possibly a swan. The weathering is considerably more severe than that of the rest of the painting. The image has nothing to do with a depiction of Adam and Eve in Paradise—a conclusion to which one might be led out of a lack of alternatives—or with any other biblical event. The assumption that it dates from the Germanic period is by far the most plausible, the only obstacle being the prejudice against artistic activity in pre-Christian times. If the figure on the plinth was there previously, then there must also have been a main image above it.

Our assumption is reinforced by the highly striking fact that not only is the picture's inclination towards the viewer—which would have been natural for an artist working from a wealth of material—absent, but also that the ground layer is rendered further and further back the higher up one goes. Indeed, there are the strongest indications that the creation of this background, together with essential parts of the image lying flat upon it, is the work of a later hand. This concerns above all the cross itself, then the right hand of the upper man reaching out towards it, the right hand of the man standing below, the victory banner in the arm of God the Father (incidentally, a quite unusual depiction!) and the flat parts of the two medallions in the upper corners. Three factors supporting this assumption converge to mutually reinforce one another: work that is clumsy and lacking in artistic skill, whilst the figures in the upper sections bear witness to considerable artistic ability; a noticeably younger patina on the lower parts; the bending of the lines of both crossbeams, which is all the more incongruous the more sharply the stylisation of the cross stands out from the otherwise unstylised figures — on closer inspection, it almost gives the impression as though the four parts of the cross had been inserted between the figures at a later date to form a passable cross. I draw attention to these striking inconsistencies. From them, the creation of the present image can be deduced in three stages: the plinth image from pre-Christian times; the 'apostle images' of Charlemagne, which he had placed in the position of the removed Germanic upper image; the image of the Descent from the Cross in its present form, produced by Paderborn in the 12th century at the time of or after the chapel's consecration. Charlemagne's apostle image may also have been a Descent from the Cross, but it appears that this was no longer acceptable in later times. Had he also

Does it hold even more mysteries for sculptors with a Germanic sensibility than we are about to hear? Or did the Germanic tribes smash it to pieces?

If any part is to be recognised as a component of the ‘Apostle Image’, then the richly decorated throne comes into question, which in a quite unusual manner replaces the otherwise customary ladder and has always attracted the attention of art historians, including that of Goethe. Provincial Councillor Körner and Eugen Weiß point out in a convincing manner that the throne is the overturned Jrminsul; Oberstl. Platz has depicted it upright in Fig. 21. It bears no notable resemblance to the candelabrum in Hildesheim Cathedral, which, according to tradition, is said to be a supposed St. James’s Cross found in Corveh.

Körner assumes that the symbol depicted in gold would have stood atop the Externstein. In that case, the image of the apostle would symbolise the demand

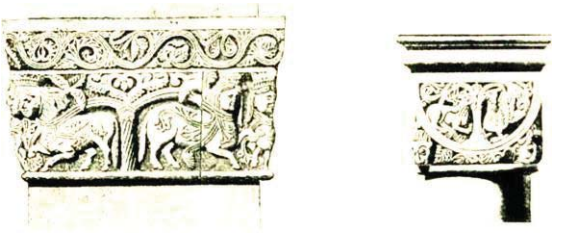

Abb. 26 Abb. 26a

Die Jrminsul in christlichen Kirchen

have recognised that Christianity should be acknowledged as having triumphed over the shattered paganism, and it is understandable that the outraged Germanic tribesmen crushed the feet of the man who set foot in the sanctuary. E. Weiß identifies the unmistakably same symbol in the churches of Alpirsbach, HamerSleben and Pavia. What appears in its central position to have been overcome and broken by the victory of the new faith was thus a symbol well known throughout the Germanic world (Fig. 26)!

It is also worth noting the contorted lower body of the man carrying the corpse, which would be more fitting for a man bending down, as well as the excessive size of the corpse, which is appropriate for one bowing towards the cross. Only an image aligned with this cross could be distorted, such as that of the ‘Herrgotts von Bentheim’, which Herman Wirth presents in ‘Aufgang der Menschheit’ as a pre-Christian depiction of ‘Sig-Tpr’ (the oath-god of the Diibant region) and uses as the cover illustration for his work.

In this context, the nearly 1-metre-high, unadorned area above the image of the Descent from the Cross, with its deep recess cut into the rock, deserves the utmost attention. The recess served no purpose for the image, was pointless and detrimental from the point of view of protection against weathering, and unattractive from an aesthetic point of view. A phenomenon that can only be reasonably explained if a larger original Germanic image, covering the entire surface, had

This image had originally been carved out of the natural rock face to the same dimensions as the figure on the plinth. Taking care to preserve all reusable material, it was then chiselled down to its current size. The removal of the Germanic image from its uppermost edge down to the upper line of the plinth image placed the first Christian artist in the awkward position of having to adapt the lower part of his new image to the remaining lower sections of the Germanic image, which could not be completely removed (so as not to lose the material entirely). This would then explain the inconsistencies and the inadequate treatment of certain forms in the lower part of the Descent from the Cross.

Were there sculptors in Germania before Charlemagne who possessed artistic intent and technical skill? — or must we imagine the execution of the images of 'Mercury (Wodan), Hercules (Donar) and Sol (Frey, Freya)', with which the Irminsula was adorned, to have been quite crude?

First of all, we must consider the general fact that the art of the Gothic cathedrals, which still arouses admiration today, did not, from the 12th century onwards, come from outside or fall from the sky, but has a long history rooted in the people themselves. Furthermore, the sight of the metal Germanic art objects in our museums compels us to conclude that people endowed with such inclinations and such skill did not stop at the artistic working of wood and stone, and that it is a fatal fallacy to infer from the absence of sculptural works of a perishable and destructible nature that such art never existed. Yet it appears that the view of their non-existence must also be qualified.

Recently, a considerable number of sculptures—mostly attached to or housed within old churches—have been brought to light from the obscurity of academic neglect; their conceptual origins lie in the ancient Germanic faith, and their creation under Christian rule would have brought the artists not praise, but rather persecution at the hands of the ecclesiastical patrons. If, nevertheless, depictions from the Germanic religious world found their way into Christian buildings — often in inglorious places — this may have happened in two ways. Either the artist, thinking and working in the old tradition, took advantage of his client's ignorance to smuggle his work in, or people did not wish to discard unrecognised fragments from the ruins of ancient sanctuaries.

Whether a stone sculpture dates from the 11th or the 7th century cannot be determined at all from weathering and workmanship, nor—unless it displays features entirely characteristic of later periods—from the artistic style, especially since we do not know the style of earlier times. In such individual cases, we are usually left to rely on an assessment of the spirit that speaks through the work of art. But the internal reasons set out above are strong enough to

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* E. Jung, Germanic Gods and Heroes in Christian Times. I. F. Lehmann, Munich 1922.

reach an unambiguous affirmation of our general question regarding Germanic sculptors.

Wherever it was relevant, Germanic culture was a culture of wood. Its sculptors, too, created wooden figures that have decayed into mould and ash. Stone sculpture, by comparison, played a minor role. However, the aforementioned research into monuments, with its keen eye for artefacts that could only have been born of the Germanic spiritual world, will continue to lead us to recognise the numerous surviving stone sculptures that were carved by Germanic hands as early as the pre-Carolingian period.

4. At the source of the Lippe

at the Kleine Egge, at the foot of which lies the ‘Eggesterenstein’, the Strote, the longest and uppermost of the Lippe’s source streams, rises. Whilst the water gushing powerfully from beneath the castle in Lippspringe, which immediately joins the Jordanbach coming from the Dedingerheide, is usually regarded primarily as the source of the Lippe, this is not entirely correct geographically. The Strote is joined, among others, by the Lutterbach from the Lutterkolk and the Rotenbach from the spring pond at Langelau, before flowing into the Lippe as the ‘Thune’ below Neuhaus-Elsen, where the Pader and Alme join the waters of Lippspringe.

The storm-free spot between Neuhaus and Elsen, rising from the confluence of the Alme and the Pader and almost entirely surrounded by water, was once unquestionably regarded as the Aliso of the Romans, until Nian began to excavate here and there from the great number of Nömer forts, where Roman weapons, ramparts and. shards, as Aliso, thereby also undermining this fine tradition among our people. According to the Bishop of Paderborn

F. von Fürstenberg, who, owing to his nine years of study at the Vatican Library and for other reasons, deserves by far the greatest trust among the older writers, believed that Charlemagne’s fortress was built on this very spot, where the bishops of Paderborn later erected their castles and buildings. He identifies Neuhaus-Elsen with certainty as the site of Aliso. However, the ground, which has been dug up and built over down to the very last square metre, offers the spade no prospect of success whatsoever. Neither here nor anywhere else will a plaque ever be found bearing the inscription ‘here was Aliso’. Thus, the hypotheses may merrily continue to proliferate. Incidentally, when it comes to the location of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest, it is quite irrelevant whether Aliso was situated in Neuhaus or further west. The name ‘Elsen’ or similar occurs very frequently.

The often water-rich stream is called, as mentioned, ‘Thune’ in its lower course. That is

This is noteworthy because ‘Lhune’ and ‘Danube’ are the same word with the same meaning. Consequently, attempts have been made to resolve the confusion and mix-up regarding the Danube—which undoubtedly exists in the German heroic saga—by interpreting the ‘Thune’ in several passages of the saga as the Danube. Of particular importance here is the Thidreksaga, which recounts that Dietrich von Bern rode eastwards from Bonn into Hunland and arrived at Susat (Soestl), where the Hun king had his court; from there he rides on and encounters Niesen Ecke, who has set out from his dwelling—a colossal stone. In any case, the Lippe region is unmistakably identified with Soest. As for the further conjectures regarding the setting of the Edda, which

G. A. Schierenberg has investigated, we shall leave open.

The importance attached to the area around the source of the Lippe in the ancient history of Germania cannot be overstated. The region forms the heart of Germania (which remained free from Roman rule) between the Rhine and the Elbe, not only in the Nemerian period but also in the Frankish period. The next reason for its importance is the geographical location and nature of the Lippe Valley, which is immediately apparent from a physical map of Germany and which, for any incursion into Germania coming from the west, be it of a peaceful or warlike nature, the

provided a well-established trade route. However, the reason also lies in the highly remarkable layout of the Germanic tribal territories, for which the area around the source of the Lippe served as a common focal point. These are the tribes which, under Arminius, put an end to the advance of Roman rule, and who, 700 years later, under the collective name 'Saxons', fought as allies under Wittekind against the West Frankish yoke: the Sigambri, Marses, Bructeri, Angrivarii, Cherusci; and furthermore the Dulgubni and Chatti. The boundaries of the first five tribes mentioned were arranged almost like the rays of a star, the core of which is the great Osningmark, with the area around the sources of the Lippe as its southernmost part. The Chatti came close, but not directly. We believe we have identified the route they probably chose to shorten their march through foreign tribal territory when they wished to enter the common borderland; the peculiar circumstances of this route, as recorded in historical documents, are so noteworthy that I shall return to them in detail (p. 157). In view of the borders converging at the sources of the Lippe, the question arises as to the relationship between the Germanic tribes. There is no doubt that the Germanic tribes often—far too often—settled their disputes by bloody force of arms. But the essentially uniform development of language and culture right up to the Frankish period tells us that, on the whole, a normal state of peaceful relations prevailed amongst the tribes of the Germanic people, characterised by numerous shared institutions and aspirations. This view is also supported by the picture of unity that the classical writers paint of Germanic culture. In particular, we note the religiously imbued state of mind in which the disputes between individuals and tribes took place. Battles and wars were invariably regarded as divine judgements, through which the divine will was to be revealed and established. The appeals of Civilis to the Germanic tribes can be regarded as virtually exemplary evidence of this*. Hence the demand by the victors and all uninvolved parties that the vanquished submit to the judgement and regard the dispute as settled. Hence the demand for fair conditions of combat, the characteristics of which have been preserved right up to our own time in the customs of single combat and the similar distribution of light and shadow in sporting contests. With childlike naivety, such chivalrous principles were also assumed to apply to other peoples. How often, then, were they deceived in the most pitiful manner. It has remained as we saw right from the start in the battles of Marius against the Cimbri and Teutons.

In Germania, however, the moral and religious conception of war meant that the development of the people as a whole was not destroyed by a fateful, enduring enmity and isolation — not even in the chaos of medieval and later history.

These considerations are of great significance for understanding the communal sanctuaries that we encounter in the Osningmark above the sources of the Lippe.

We have ample evidence in the present reports and facts of a shared concern for the religious affairs of the Germanic people, so that even religious scholars deeply entrenched in barbaric misconceptions cannot avoid acknowledging such a non-barbaric phenomenon*.

people, we have sufficient evidence in the available reports and facts, so that even religious scholars deeply entrenched in barbaric misconceptions cannot escape acknowledging such a non-barbaric phenomenon*.

In the wake of religious concerns, there inevitably follow political and other scientific tasks of public life, including economic ones, which led to the establishment of common institutions. There must have been a kind of federal capital where the threads converged, and where there was what was required for the gathering of large crowds at assemblies and festivals, as must be assumed at least during the times of the great spring and autumn celebrations.

For the tribes mentioned, the area around the source of the Lippe, which, together with the groves of the Osning and extending beyond to Externsteine, the Teutoburg Forest and the Leistrup Forest, formed a large tribal territory, was the natural location.

The exceptional status of the area around the source of the Lippe is illustrated by a detailed account written 110 years ago by the astute, reliable and also critical Demold archivist Clostermeier, in a reply to the Princely Treasury, which had asked him about the significance of the Kohlstädt ruins. He admits to having published nothing whatsoever on the ruins, but takes the opportunity to compile his knowledge of this area, which is of great value to us. One senses his astonishment and perplexity at the peculiar circumstances of this isolated region, which he encountered during his archival research into the significance of the ruins.

Having pointed out that, apart from Detmold and Schieber, no other towns in the Lippe region appear in the annals of history as early as Oesterholz, Kohlstädt and Schlangen—that is, precisely the places between Detmold and Lipp-Springe that are of interest to us—he confirms the highly striking fact that in this economically poor corner ‘German nobles were established from the earliest times’. ‘This stretch of land must therefore have been more cultivated and populated from time immemorial than other parts of the Principality of Lippe.’ The reason for this is not hard to find. The Romans would have been the lords of the Lippe; Roman culture would well have attracted the Germans to settle in the neighbourhood! ‘How many advantages, then, did the area around Neuhaus and Lipp-springe offer its inhabitants!’ Clostermeier then, quoting Einhard, turns to Charlemagne’s method of conversion. “Laxonos nertorriti . . . svoponckorunt 8v esso Oliristianos . . . super Invniam. vsnientes unneuin uxoribus st intantibus innuinerakilis multituclo t>rn>tl7.ntn ost.” (The frightened Saxons vowed to become Christians and were baptised in the Lippe in countless numbers, together with their wives and children.) “The region around Schlangen, Kohlstädt and Oesterholz was thus the first, before all other parts of the Lippe region, to enjoy the beneficial influence of Christianity.” Clostermeier’s insights are valuable, yet the full wretchedness of the traditional view of history cries out to us from the mouth of this respectable German man. In him, too, the sense of the religious and national humiliation of the violent conversion, accompanied by subjugation, had died.

We are particularly interested in the common people of the Paderborn and Lippspringe regions, as well as the

many nobles who owned estates in the area. ' Helm, Old Germanic Religion.

Clvsteriner's confusion on this matter is understandable. We, however, recognise the causes of the controversial facts in the character of Paderborn—unknown to him—as a 'capital city' and of the region as a 'sacred march', where the local people once held their communal life, rights and privileges, which they then transferred to the great lords and ecclesiastical institutions as legal successors of the disenfranchised people.

There may have been other noble families, but worth mentioning are a noblewoman named Fran Jda and her three sons, one of whom was called Jiniko, and the family of

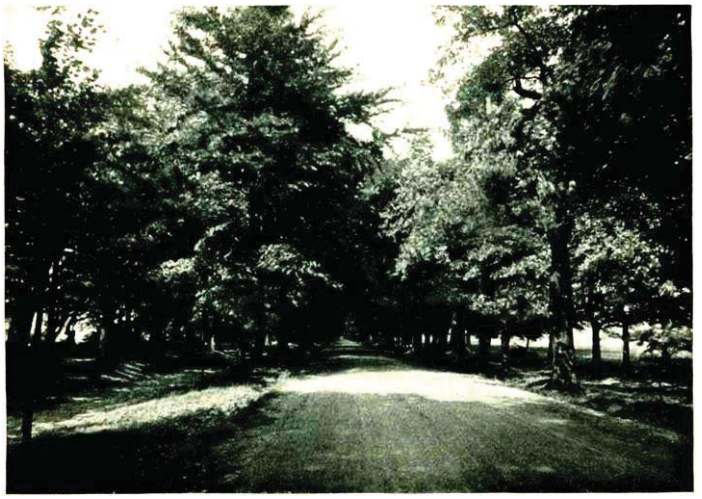


Fig. 27. The Princely Hall in Oesterholz (Feststrasse)

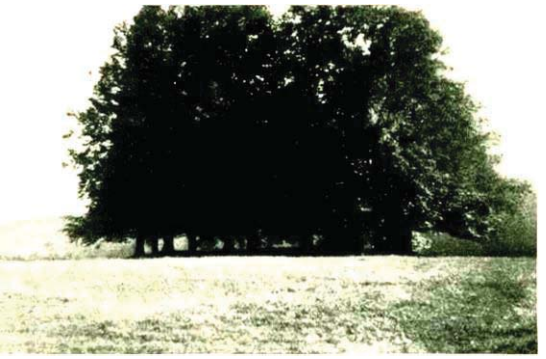
Duke Ecbert, in particular his son Bewo, and a nun named Oda von Gesecke, who probably descended from this family; the counts and lords of Westphalia, Lippe, Brunswick, Waldeck, Calenberg, Rheda, Haxtbanscn, Falkcnburg, Schwalenberg and Brannenbruch; and the monasteries of Paderborn, Werden, Corvey and Hardehausen.

Among the nobility, the aforementioned friend and governor of Charlemagne in Saxony, Ecbert, stands out. The sacred groves and most important sanctuaries of the Mark were evidently entrusted to his capable hands. The family, however, cannot have derived much joy from these sites of the old faith, as we can gather from the failure of an attempt to found a monastery. We do not know whether the Kohlstädt ruins, which we shall discuss below, belonged to these estates, especially as the names Kohlstädt and Oesterholz have been used interchangeably right up to modern times. But we may assume so.

The Fe straße

The Fürstallee, which runs in a dead straight line for 3 km from Schlangen in a northerly direction, is a magnificent avenue 110 metres wide, lined with four to five rows of old oak trees, interspersed with a few beech trees, with a further widening in the upper section; 700 metres of it run alongside the "Sennetrift". The avenue passes the two large Oesterholz estates, the "Meierei" (hunting lodge, forest rangers' quarters, retirement home) and the manor (Haus Gierten), 100 m away.

This magnificent avenue cannot have been laid out by the Counts of Lippe, as they only became owners in the Oesterholz Mark from 1503 onwards, whilst a considerable proportion of the oak and beech trees still standing date back to an earlier period.



Before that, however, Schwarzmeier lived on one side of the estate and Meier Henke on the other. There is no apparent purpose for this grand avenue in this isolated area throughout the entire history of the Christian Middle Ages.

The wide road begins in the south only at the crossing over the stream near the Schwedenschanze. The name 'Schwedenschanze' here, as in numerous similar cases, does not indicate the actual meaning, but must have supplanted an old name some time after the Thirty Years' War. The Schwedenschanze, as it lies before us, did not, or at least not entirely, arise as a natural dune formed by sand drifts from the Senne. This has been demonstrated by a recently discovered, substantial layer of wooden planks situated halfway up its height. There are also reports of an earlier discovery of a megalithic tomb.

The road comes from the village of Schlangen, which is adjoined by the Tedingerheide. The name of this heath tells us that the people once gathered here (Ding: a popular assembly).
In the Schlangen area there were, or still are, striking old ramparts, and in the Tedingerheide, alongside a Ningwall and other ramparts, there is a curious old system of ditches, the purpose of which has puzzled expert farmers. Much of this has fallen victim to cultivation; the rest survives only in a pitiful state. The survey map at least records the vanished Ningwall, specifically as a walled pond, because its interior had become marshy.

Abb. 29. Der Hagedorn bei Schlangen

However, a valuable testament to the former significance of the Dedingerheide has been listed as a historic monument and will not disappear. It is the 'Hagedorn hill, so many hundreds of years old?' on the Prussian-Lippe border (Fig. 29). It is said that representatives of the people used to gather here for negotiations. This memory of the population, which is also well-documented in the archives and which has kept this small site set apart and repeatedly planted with trees, is likely to have been proven true in many places, where, for example, conspicuous solitary trees or groups of trees are found in locations that arouse suspicion of being consecrated or otherwise public sites. Between the southern village of Neinbardsbnmn near Friedrichsroda and the aforementioned 'Langewiesc', I found a circular court hill, surrounded by 12 lime trees, known as 'the twelve apostles', a name that occurs frequently. The village lime tree is the recognised and best-known example.
The ancient form of the name 'Tedingerheide' – I came across this in another source

' Nachlas; Knoch, Lipp. Aichin, Deimold 1X17.

— matches exactly, in its first half, the Gothic word thiudangard, which in Ulfilas's 'Matt. 6:13' means 'people's garden-heath', thus referring to the people's assembly.

The Tedingerheide, to which E. Weiß rightly devotes particular attention in his work on Schlangen, had an artificially regulated abundance of water. The greater part of the Strote water flows downstream from Schlangen towards the Tütgemühle. This fork (bifurcation) has such a distinctive shape that it suggests it was once diverted by human hands. This must have been based on the intention to connect the Kohlstüdter Ruine to the Lippe via the Thune bed (p. 114)! Only then could the mill have been built.

The abundance of water in the Dedingerheide, with its curious system of ditches, met the needs of the large crowds we imagine gathering there to set out along the festival route leading to the holy sites during times of celebration. This is where the Princes' Avenue comes into its own!

Festive routes, known in Christian worship as processional routes or 'Kreuzgänge', arise naturally from the regular custom of crowds making their way to a festive destination. Processions as Christian rituals only emerged in the fourth and fifth centuries, when so much of the customs of the Germanic peoples was incorporated into Christianity. This has led to the assumption that processions too — and with them the cloisters and festival streets — originated in paganism.

Among the numerous striking, otherwise inexplicable ceremonial roads that undoubtedly still exist in Germanic lands, the road leading north-east from the Stonehenge sanctuary (tüo aveinio) is recognised (alongside the stone avenues) as a ceremonial processional route. Its north-eastern terminus can no longer be determined; it is situated near the racecourse, which lies slightly to the side.

The situation is similar with Oesterholzer Feststraße, which does indeed lead towards the nearby sanctuaries, though nothing has yet been found to indicate its northern terminus. It ends in the north on this side of a solitary forester's lodge on the edge of the wood, whose name, 'Kreuzkru g', is unlikely to derive from the forest paths branching off at an angle from here. Should it not remind us of its original meaning as being situated at the end of the 'Krcuzgang'? Widening to a normal width, the road curves sideways towards this forest house, whilst, in a straight line through the wood itself, the former actual end can be recognised at the junction of an old oak avenue in front of an even more isolated 'forest house', the old 'Kreuzkrug'. The fact that people lived here in ancient times is proven by artefacts that have been found. Either the site of this house, near which there is a 1–2 metre high hill covered with oak trees, or a much higher hill situated directly behind it next to a game shed, must have been the location of the old landmark! Added to this is another reliable discovery that clarifies the whole matter:

We can now state with certainty that the terminus of the Feststraße at one of these two points was dedicated to Wodan. We owe this knowledge to Dr H. Schmidt's discovery, based on old forestry records, that the area now known as 'Paulinenholz'

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* Holzmann and Zöpfcl, Theological Lexicon.

behind the Kreuzkruge was formerly called ‘Gudenslau’, i.e. the sacred grove of Wodan. Most welcome in this regard is the report from District Forester Holste that the forest around the ‘old Kreuzkruge’ is still called ‘Gudenslau’ by the older generation to this day.

Such a revelation, which only dawns on us in retrospect and proves to be a confirmation of a previously put forward hypothesis, has its own special value. We may joyfully welcome it as yet another new link in the chain of evidence for the Lesterholz sanctuaries.

4. A PftegstäLte of Astronomy in Oesterholz

German astronomy

The Externsteine and the astronomical findings discovered there have spoken for themselves. How do they fit into our understanding of history? How do we reconcile them with our general views, in which Germanic astronomy had no place?

Evidence of Germanic celestial worship and its influence on folk life can already be gleaned from archaeological finds, foremost among which is the Trundholm Sun Chariot. Also valuable is the albeit sparse but very definite literary evidence of both celestial worship and astronomical activity.

Julius Caesar* writes: 'Among them, only the sun, fire and the moon are held in divine veneration'. — Tacitus — reproduces a very wise speech by the Ampsivian prince Boiocalus (58 AD) and then continues: 'Then he looked up at the sun, called upon it and the other stars, and asked, as if they were personally present, whether they would look down upon a land devoid of people.'

Jordanes° called the Goths the wisest among the barbarians, almost akin to the Greeks because of their priestly learning. Among the knowledge they regarded as theology, he includes the doctrine of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the courses of the planets. The same writer reports that as early as the time of Sulla, under their king, the wise Dicenäus, the Goths were already familiar with the names of 3–16 stars.

T h e Icelanders, a branch of the Saxons who had initially migrated to Norway during the era of Christianisation, continued to maintain ties with their old homeland for a long time even from Iceland. In Iceland, the year was counted as 360 days plus 4 extra days (epagomenal days), namely 12 months of 30 nights and 4 days each. However, when it was realised that, with this method of counting, summer was shifting ever closer to spring because one day had been omitted, a day was inserted; henceforth, the year was calculated as
363 days, with an extra day in a leap year. This reform, however, was not adopted until 980.

Around the year 1000, the introduction of Christianity began in Iceland. A figure known from the sagas is 'Otto the Star-Gazer', who had acquired such knowledge through his own observations that he was indispensable when the Christian calendar was introduced.

It is generally accepted that the elaborate calendar sticks used for calculating time, which were common throughout the Germanic North, were in use throughout the Germanic lands. But in Germania proper, 700 years of fanatical zeal for destruction spared hardly a single piece bearing runes.

An inexhaustible number of conclusive testimonies to the Germanic mindset, focused on celestial phenomena, could be cited if we were to

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* Oe Lello LrlIlco VI. – Annals XIII, 55. ° Jordanes, History of the Goths. ' Henrikas. ° Are Frode's Book of the Islanders, Chapter 4. ° Arthur Drews, The Starry Sky, Diederichs, Jena 1923.

wished to venture into the realm of symbols and ideograms, of signs and images, of myths and legends, of fairy tales and songs, of the art of healing and superstition, of games, customs and traditions.

Added to this is the vast array of parallel astral conceptions found among the other ancient peoples. The similarity, verging on identity, of the astronomical and mythological lines of thought—which appear to have emerged from a common source of humanity—has been convincingly demonstrated by comparative ethnological mythology, particularly since Hugo Winkler published his seminal research. A brief, clear compilation of only the most important facts pertaining to this subject, taking into account the relevant recent scientific findings, would fill a substantial volume and meet a pressing need. An article by Prof. E. Dittrich in *Das Weltall*, entitled 'The Question of Orientation'*, provides a vivid illustration of just how rich this material is, much of which remains entirely unknown.

Although very little direct written evidence of Germanic astronomy has survived, it would be wrong to conclude that it played a lesser role among the Germanic peoples than among other peoples. Classical historians were conspicuously indifferent to the study of the stars, even among their own peoples and those of the East; indeed, it may often have been unknown to them. Thus, for example, we learn from Herodotus, despite his visit to Egypt, not the slightest thing about the astronomy of the Egyptians. It seems that things were no different then than they are today, where even the average educated European, despite school education, numerous scientific events, newspaper reports and, more recently, planetariums, has little interest in the work of astronomers. When an explorer describes his experiences among foreign peoples, the astronomy of those peoples is still, even today, among the last things about which we learn anything. This intellectual work generally takes place unnoticed in silence. It was also concealed in the religion of ancient peoples behind folk myths, whose original astral background then often fell into oblivion.

How much more, then, does this general observation apply to the attitude of foreign writers—among whom must be counted not only the classical authors but also the Roman writers of the period of conversion—towards Germania; they were all infinitely removed from the indigenous Germanic spiritual life.

Whilst Charlemagne displayed a certain interest in astronomy, and whilst during the reign of Louis the Pious isolated contemporary accounts of an astronomical nature unexpectedly stand out against the backdrop of a completely different intellectual climate, we shall not be mistaken in regarding them as a lingering effect of earlier Germanic astronomical inclinations. For not even a whiff of astronomical thought could have drifted over from the Roman world of that time. Since Cleon and his daughter Hypatia (c. 400 in Alexandria), astronomy had died out, and it is only thanks to the Caliphs that ancient astronomical knowledge could be preserved via the bridge of Islam until the more prosperous times of the Middle Ages. Charlemagne, too, was inspired by Harun al-Rashid and the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, not by Nom.

"Das Weltall" magazine, Berlin, Treptow Observatory, May 1930.

This alone should suffice to explain the scarcity of information regarding Germanic astronomical observations. However, if scholars who wish to deny any astronomical activity in Germania believe they are entitled to draw a distinction between the West Germans on the one hand and the North Germans and Goths on the other, this must be rejected as entirely without justification. Superficial comparisons must, of course, be to the detriment of the West-

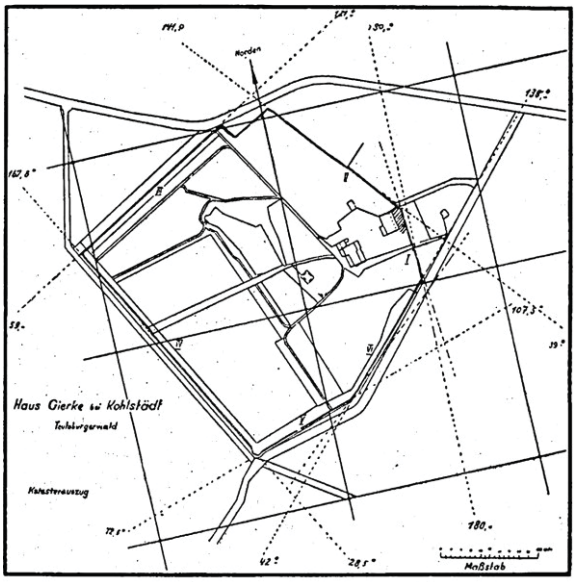

Abb. 30. Der Katasterauszug

This trend is fading away, for the simple, yet so often overlooked reason that in no other Germanic country has the destruction of culture and tradition—which went hand in hand with the forced introduction of Christianity—been carried out with anywhere near the same thoroughness or found such a consistent continuation as in Germany proper. In any case, we have not only the scholarly right, but also the duty, to approach the traces of our ancestors' extensive astronomical inclinations—which are now coming into view—with complete objectivity, unclouded by any preconceived notions. If there was an astronomical science in Germania, this opens up the most valuable insights into a Germanic intellectual life, the nature of which was admittedly very different from that of the

Mediterranean peoples, yet whose level need not have been any lower, and indeed—measured by other standards—may even have been more valuable.

Oesterholz

My experiences with the telescope and its astronomical sighting lines had driven me to search for any traces of astronomical activity by the ancients in this region. The lunar line, whatever its objective value might be, actually served as my guide in the Senne region. The correct identification of the northernmost lunar extremity necessarily presupposes an undertaking carried out over a long period of time. Signs of such an undertaking could be found in the landscape! That was the lesson of the Erternstcine.

My initial thought that the Kohlstadt ruins might be the central point of an astronomical grid system turned out to be wrong. But the Senne held me fast, the Senne with its solitary, peculiar nature, which in large parts is scarcely disturbed by the sparse settlement, the Senne with its myriad of megalithic tombs, which lead the mind into the world of prehistoric times.

On the edge of the Senne, where at the foot of the Teutoburg Forest the landscape

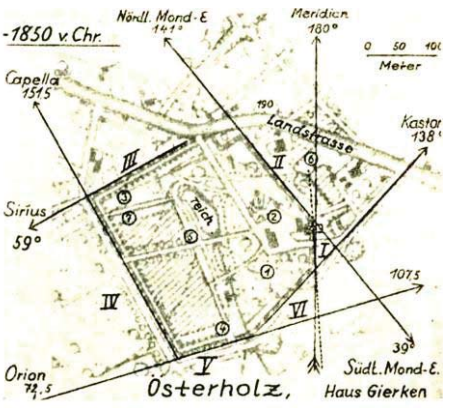

Abb. 31. Die astronomische Anlage des Sternhofs

Oesterholz (Hans Gierken) 2 km we p due to their large and distinctive sl r curious enclosure. Partly substantial walls whose embankments have crumbled, and partly just ramparts, enclose a 32-acre plot with a total length of approximately 110 metres; this consists largely of woodland, a sizeable pond, market garden, marshy meadows, a residential house, an administrative building and smaller structures; a farmyard has been laid out outside the walls for the associated agricultural work.

In fruchtbares Gelände übergeht, war es der Gutshof

The first inspection gives the impression of a camp or a fortification which was later used as a settlement and then probably fortified once more. But all manner of considerations regarding the need, purpose and construction of a fortification-like structure at this site revealed its enigmatic nature even back then, when the judgement of military experts and the historical evidence

were not yet known. As a mere royal guard, however, a fortification whose defence required a considerable military force was out of the question.

But then the peculiar shape of the ‘boundary lines’ must have been conspicuous from the outset, as there was no apparent reason for them anywhere in the flat terrain. It is an irregular hexagon in which equal angles and parallel lines are avoided.

' It seemed unlikely to me that this shape of the plot could have been the result of merely a playful private whim of the first settler or a later owner. Moreover, it was partly discernible on the map and partly confirmed by an on-site inspection that the shape is sharply defined by straight walls without any interruptions. For the most part, these are old dry stone walls that have preserved the enclosure from ruin; to a lesser extent, the walls have been rebuilt in later times using lime mortar, without altering the lines of the collapsed stones.

The layout is only significantly disrupted in two places: in one instance by a farm building encroaching upon it, and in the other by a country road cutting into one corner. A slightly irregular alignment at the start of one side in a third place, along with other minor irregularities, are likewise of no consequence. Given that we are dealing not with a new layout but with an archaeological site, the conclusion may be that the irregular hexagon is clearly defined in its alignment. Although the layout of this estate initially interested m e in a general sense, my astronomical questions remained with me. The compass placed on wall I indicated the north direction without any noticeable deviation. The adjacent wall II showed, with remarkable precision, the same azimuth of the northern direction that I was familiar with from Externstein. The moon’s extremities on the setting side.

Could this be an astronomical hexagon, in which, as I had once read somewhere, the astronomers of earlier times drew several lines together so as to have them conveniently close at hand?

These two sides of the hexagon mentioned above displayed yet another feature that caught my eye. The extension of the first line northwards intersected, at a distance of 910 metres, the ruins of the great Teutoburg, a few metres from the current site of the Hermann Monument on the Grotenburg. The extension of the second line mentioned pointed, at a distance of 1414 km, towards the so-called Hünenkirche on the Tönsberg near Örlingshausen. Both the Great Teutoburg and the Hünenkirche are discussed and illustrated in detail in Schuchhardt’s Atlas of Prehistoric Fortifications in Lower Saxony (pp. I^V and I,VI) and in Volume 3 of the second series of the Lower Saxony Local History Books.

Negotiations regarding the Oesterholz estate then began with the observers at the Astronomical Computing Institute of the University of Berlin, Professors Riem and Neugebauer, who had advised me on the astronomical aspects of the Externsteine. They deserve our warmest thanks for the considerable effort they have expended and for their willingness to address the questions raised. Their work has led to the surprising conclusion that the estate must be recognised as an astronomical site, ruling out the possibility of its having come about by chance.

Here, it seemed to me, a rare case in which a question of archaeological significance could and had to be answered initially independently of the evidence derived from the findings of masonry, from the ‘objects’ found and otherwise preserved, and from the various other results of excavations, such that perhaps all relevant positive evidence of this kind merely adds to the line of reasoning, whilst the main question itself had to be answered exclusively on the basis of an undeniably existing mathematical figure.

But others thought differently. I should have dropped the whole matter back then if I had wished to follow the well-meaning advice. Some asked, how

Fig. 32. ptreiizniancr VI

For whilst the authorities in the field of archaeology had already passed judgement on the matter, others insisted on documentary and historical evidence that the age of the Gnts-boss extended back to pre-Christian times; yet all agreed that excavations were absolutely essential. Dig, dig! Without success in the spade, it would be a wasted day.

The ‘necessary’ excavations have, fortunately, not been carried out, and a wealth of important documentary evidence has come to light. But at that time I did not dig, nor did I promise any conclusion from the examination of the archives, because in both areas neither a success could prove the astronomical nature of the structure nor could a failure disprove the fact of the astronomical findings. My decision to publish was based on the logical necessity arising from the astronomical findings.

The lines we encounter in nature and on the land registry were drawn by human hands at some point and in some way. They have formed a mathematical figure that now exists for its own sake. It matters not whether the lines have been marked by cyclopean walls, earthworks, ditches, hedges or isolated boundary stones, nor does it matter how often the material representing the lines has undergone changes over the millennia — provided only that the lines as such still exist for us. Figures 32 and 33 show how they appear today; we do not know what they were originally like. The date of their creation has been determined on the basis of astronomical findings.

For this reason, numerous questions that were important in themselves had to be set aside for the time being during the discussion, including the question of the extent to which the sections of the rampart, which bear a certain resemblance to the fortifications of some Roman forts, also served a defensive purpose.

In order to appreciate the uniqueness of the present case, the utmost importance must be attached to recognising and acknowledging the existence of the bare mathematical figure in its absolute independence from the nature and fate of the material representing it. However, in order to understand what demanded our recognition at the Oesterholz estate, we had to attempt to penetrate the astronomical and mythological world of thought of the ancient peoples, which remains so alien to us.

I shall now quote the expert report in full:

Concerning the astronomical orientation of the Gierken House in Oesterholz, February Teutoburg Forest

Berlin-Dahlem, 1926 November and

We, the undersigned astronomers at the Astronomical Computing Institute of the University of Berlin, have been asked by Director W. Teudt-Tetmold to examine the measurements of the azimuths of the enclosure walls of the Gierken estate in Oesterholz near the Teutoburg Forest, in order to determine whether the assumption was correct that their original construction in prehistoric times had been carried out in accordance with astronomical principles. An official cadastral extract, on which the enclosure walls are marked as such, was enclosed.

A latitude of 51° 50' was incorporated into the calculation. The northern section of perimeter wall I is to be disregarded, as its original alignment has been disrupted by the recent construction of a farm building; likewise, the south-western end of perimeter wall VI, as its alignment is inconsistent. Accordingly, the lines have the following lengths: I — 14 m, U — 172 m, UI — 193 m, IV — - 270 m, V ---112 m, VI -- 116 m. These lengths are entirely sufficient for the intended investigation, even if the lines were to contain more significant variations than is the case according to the cadastral extract.

The azimuths, i.e. the deviations of the directions from the north-south direction, have been re-measured and found to be sufficiently accurate, especially since the calculation of prehistoric azimuths always involves a margin of error of several

Tenths of a degree must be assumed, which is due to rounding in the final decimal places of the calculation and also to the uncertainty in the positions of the stars used. Consequently, a very precise determination of time cannot be expected, although this represents by far the most favourable case, in that the calculation can be based on several fixed-star azimuths, whereas a calculation based on solar and lunar azimuths would require a margin of error spanning centuries.

As a result of the investigation, it can be reported that the azimuths of all six lines in question coincide, with sufficient and in some cases surprisingly high accuracy, with the azimuths of celestial bodies of mythological significance calculated by us for the period around 1850 BC.

The more limited the number of celestial bodies to be taken into account, the more implausible it seems that these six azimuths should have arisen by chance – that is, without any astronomical considerations – during the construction of the estate. To reach this conclusion, there is no need for a formal mathematical probability calculation, which would require a cumbersome agreement on the factors to be applied. For verification, we have calculated the azimuths for all bright stars for the epochs 1000 AD, 1000 BC, 2000 BC, –3000, –4000 BC, with the result that only for the specified epoch of 1850 BC did azimuths corresponding to the official measurements of the estate's boundaries occur consistently for several stars, and indeed only for the stars listed below. The azimuths have been calculated taking into account the elevations caused by the Teutoburg Forest to the east and north-west at distances of 5 to 1,414 km, as well as average atmospheric refraction.

Page	Azimuth of the	Name of the line	Calculated celestial	time
I	Walls			
	180			
II	39	Southern lunar extreme, rising .	39.0	
	141	Northern lunar extremum, setting	141.0	
III	59	Sirius setting	59.1	— 1850
IV	151.5	Kapella setting	151.3	— 1850
V	72.5	Delta Orion setting . . .	72.6	— 1850
VI	138	Castor rising	138.0	— 1850

Rises and sets are of equal importance for determining the positions of the stars. Given the rapid change in the positions of the stars due to precession, the accuracy of time determination should be estimated at around fifty years.

The positions of the Moon change very slowly, and moreover, the rise or set of such an extensive object as the lunar disc is very difficult to observe as a point without adequate instruments. The calculation of time was therefore limited to the four fixed-star azimuths, since the constant meridian line is also not relevant for the calculation of time.

A particular significance of the lunar azimuths lies in the evidence that, at that time, attention was paid to the moon's rises in this manner and that knowledge was possessed of the 18-year lunar cycle known in chronology as the Saros period.

The significance for the history of astronomy to be attributed to the facts uncovered at the Gierke estate lies, in our view, firstly in the aforementioned finding of knowledge of the Saros, which suggests a long history of astronomical observations. Secondly, in the finding that the rising and setting of stars were also observed, that preference was given to those stars which played a role in the astronomy of the Orient and antiquity, and finally, that the Germanic peoples already possessed an ancient and highly developed art of observation at that time.

As for the purpose of the entire complex, its nature, size and location suggest that it served as a centre of learning and worship in the field of astronomy, of great significance to the entire people, fulfilling a wide range of functions relating to religious rites, astrology, agriculture and other aspects of daily life dependent on the calendar.

The purely astronomical findings are of secondary importance to the other finding, namely that it is highly probable that a highly developed culture already existed in the Germanic lands in prehistoric times.

Signed: Prof. Dr P. V. Neugebauer Signed: Prof. Dr Johannes Riem

The official cadastral map of the estate at a scale of 1:2000, with a registered orientation grid, forms the basis for the astronomical investigations (Fig. 30). The meticulous accuracy of such official documents, which are decisive for property rights, as well as the impartial levelling of any natural unevenness, ensured the suitability of the cadastral extract for the present task.

Certain discrepancies in the measurement of the angles formed by the boundary lines and the polar line are due to the way in which the ruler is positioned in view of the existing unevenness. The discrepancies in the measurements, which gave rise to criticism of the astronomical findings, are within such limits that the astronomical experts have declared them to be of no significance for the overall assessment.

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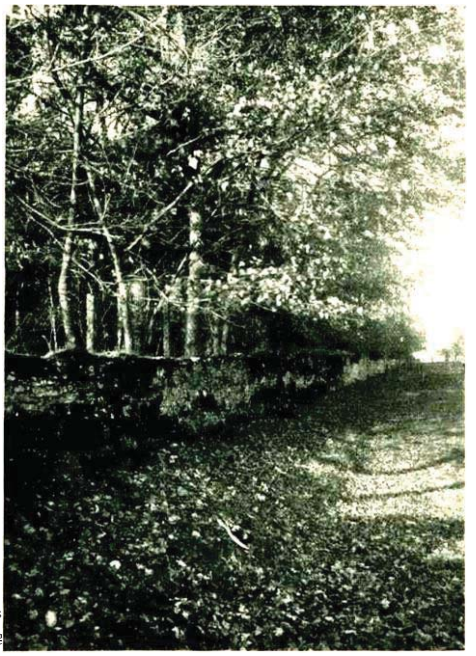
* The critics have focused most on Line I (the meridian line), whose defects are also noticeable in the photographic reproduction of the cadastral extract (Fig. 30). But it is precisely here that there can be no doubt that the original direction of the line is still indicated to us by the remaining, 14-metre-long undisturbed section of the line, since the longer section represents by far the most vulnerable part of the entire perimeter, and its disruption by two farm entrances and overbuilding is evident. — There has also been some debate regarding the indented corner at the northernmost point of the estate. The corner, which contains a spring and was probably separated for this reason to allow for the construction of a cottager's house, is clearly identifiable as a minor, later alteration to the planned hexagon.

As with any archaeological site, it cannot be expected that centuries would have left the Oesterholz estate completely untouched in its original state.

The statement reads: 'Even taking into account the figures provided by Mtfcld, we therefore arrive at a conclusion which fully confirms the judgement set out in our report and stands in clear contrast to other speculative interpretations. Of the announced

Even for those who have not yet studied astronomy, it is not at all difficult to grasp the main points of the report.

One extends the sides of the hexagon as defined by the celestial sphere and imagines these extensions continuing all the way to the horizon. The angles formed by these lines with the meridian (the line of the North Star) are called azimuths. The question arose as to whether the azimuths of the Gents-hoss Gierke correspond to astronomically or mythologically significant to such an extent that the layout can be proven to have been created with astronomical considerations in mind.



On clear nights, we can observe how the starry sky seems to rotate from east to west as the Earth turns. The fixed stars always rise and set in the same place for us, because the Earth's axial tilt, caused by its orbit around the Sun, is completely negligible and plays no role whatsoever in comparison to the immense distances of the fixed stars. It is conceivable that the Germanic peoples observed the fixed stars and points of rising offixed starstheirrise devoted their attention to this, as was to observe and calculate the rising North or South Pole.

This is likely due to a single 'Plaudimus', which in a single sentence

Unlike the fixed stars, the points of rising and setting of the Sun, the Moon and the planets on the horizon shift continuously throughout the year, albeit within certain limits. The Sun's annual cycle, which repeats itself regularly, can be grasped relatively easily by fixing the starting point on certain important days, particularly the solstices. As already mentioned, lunar observation involved an 18–19-year cycle each time. However, the apparent irregularity of the planets' paths presented even the most experienced observer with almost insurmountable difficulties prior to Copernicus. Thus, at the Oesterholz estate, we find no planetary line, but four fixed-star lines, one lunar line and one solar line.

Whether or not the ancients were aware that the fixed stars do indeed gradually change their position in the sky over the course of centuries, is now a fact that enables our astronomy to calculate, from the fixed-star azimuths of earlier times that come to our knowledge, the time at which the star's position was determined with an accuracy down to the decade.

This method of astronomical chronology has been applied to the boundary lines of the Oesterholz estate, with the result that all six lines have astronomical significance, and that four of them, as star azimuths, provide the most favourable possible basis for drawing a conclusion about the time of the site's construction.

The four fixed-star azimuths clearly point to the period around 1850 BC. The remaining line, which combines the two lunar extremes, and the meridian line, cannot be used to calculate the date of construction; the latter because it remains constant, and the former because the variation is very slight. Added to this is our lack of knowledge regarding the method used by the ancients to measure the lunar disc as it rose above the horizon.

It is worth noting that, of the vast number of fixed stars, only a small number are significant enough to have been considered here. All the others either have no rising or setting, or held no mythological or other significance for the ancients. For the investigation, I specified only Spica, Capella, Sirius, Pollux or Castor, the Pleiades or Aldebaran, Arcturus and Delta Orionis. If no result could be obtained with these seven stars — apart from the Sun and the Moon — I left it to the experts to decide whether to continue their efforts.

It was an extremely commendable effort on the part of the astronomical experts, one that greatly enhanced the evidential value of the investigation, that, in addition to the stars specified to them, they recalculated all other bright stars for all epochs between 1000 AD and 4000 BC, to see whether a correlation between several stellar azimuths and the wall azimuths of the Oesterholz estate might be established in a similar manner to that found for the fixed stars examined for the period 1850 BC. The entirely negative result of this work is likely to have been decisive for the experts in their rejection, as expressed in their report, of the assumption that the findings at the Oesterholz estate could be attributed to chance.

T h e assumption that the same celestial bodies which feature in

Oriental and ancient mythology, in the Edda and in the Bible, had already been confirmed by the celestial lines of the Oesterholz estate in a manner that exceeded all expectations. To this, however, is added a recent finding, namely that astronomers have selected from among the mythological celestial bodies those which bear a relation to the concept of the female goddess of fertility and blessing, the Mother of God. The situation is as follows.

What Jstar and Astarte are in the Oriental astral mythological world, we have in the Germanic tradition as Freya (also Frau Holle) or Ostara. Ostara is a name which, by all appearances, had become particularly popular in north-western Germany, and in the last age — according to the renunciation formula — still retained a counterpart in 'Sahsnot'. It is obvious that Jstar and Ostara are the same word. The concept of the Mother Goddess has undergone a greater transformation in the Greco-Roman pantheon than between the Oriental and Germanic traditions; yet the same ideas can be found there as well.

One of the strongest historical confirmations of the significance of Oesterholz – which we had recognised through entirely different means – was the discovery of a tradition, still alive in this area as late as the 17th century, stating that a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Ostara (kanum Oataras Vene) had once stood at Oesterholz.

It is therefore highly noteworthy, and our understanding of the significance of the estate's astronomical layout becomes exceptionally clear, now that we know the lines were selected with regard to the service of Ostara.

1. Orion. The connection between Orion's Belt stars and Ostara is evident in Germanic folklore in that they are regarded as Freya's spindle. In the Orient, however, Orion is also the messenger of the gods who descends into the underworld to redeem Jstar.

2. Capella, known as the goat Heidrun in the Edda and as the singer
-es Zeus, has an unmistakable connection to the female deity.

3. The significance of the twins is most vividly reflected in the myths of the peoples. 'In the lists of the gods of the Ishtar,' we read in Jeremias, 'Bubal is named as one of her servants, whose twin brother is called Batarak; both find their manifestation in the constellation of Gemini, opposite Orion. Orion and Gemini, as opposing constellations, have been of the utmost importance in astral mythology right up to the most recent times.'

4. Sirius is the most prominent star among the Oesterholz stars, among which Venus, which also belongs here, could not find a place. In the Sumerian winter solstice calendar, it is actually called the 'Maiden Star' and is regarded as another manifestation of the virgo celestis (heavenly Virgin), or also as the 'Dog Star', as the companion of the Babylonian Madonna. In Egypt, it is Sirius-Sothis, named after the great goddess Sothis, who causes the Nile to rise with the heliacal rising (reappearance after invisibility) of Sirius.

' Wasserbach, Oe rrsru- lllurrri, p. 6, I.cmgo 1698. ? Jeremias, Handbook of Ancient Oriental Intellectual Culture, Berlin, Gruyter, 1929, p. 232. - Jeremias, op. cit., p. 339. ' Jeremias, op. cit., p. 274, note 4; 172 and 339; 275
note 305.

If the emergence and establishment of the Christmas festival was brought about within the Christian Church by the Germanic peoples, and was subsequently observed with such fervour, its origins must be sought in the ancient beliefs of the Germanic peoples. Alongside the well-known meanings, we also recognise the Twins as the eyes of Thiassi, still gazing upwards, cast into the heavens, the Sirius as the star of the underworld, from whose first appearance in the light of the setting autumn sun the beginning of the new year was often calculated, the Delta of Orion as the symbol of virility (phallus), and the Pleiades as the blessing and the giver of human sustenance.

Fig. 31. Thickness of the ramparts III, IV, V

The fact that all four—or rather five—Lesterbolzcr stars correspond to the four or five celestial bodies which, according to folk mythology, can be described as symbols of Easter, is so significant that it deserves attention even within the dazzling world of astrology.

I have also named the star Spina Virginis, because its rising line around 1 May coincides with the setting line of Arion. In our table, Lpica is not included because the astronomical experts have decided to include in their report a table calculated for the local horizon, which is influenced by the elevations in the east and north. Personally, I am of the opinion that the astronomers of Lestholz were perfectly capable of measuring the positions of the stars against the open horizon—a task which ultimately required only the use of a vessel filled to the brim with water—and that they actually did so for educational purposes. This results in a criticism that differs only slightly from the assessment of the Lenerbolz question, which I wish to present here in order to give the reader an overview of both methods of calculation. The figures in brackets are the Lenerbolz values (boundary, limit, meridian 180

(180), Southern lunar extremum 10.0–1.0 (39), Northern lunar extremum 142.3 (141), Sirius 59.1 (59), Capella
151.3 (151.5), Delta Orionis 72.6 (72.5) and Spica 107.4 (107.5), Pollux 138.5 (138).

In all the friendly and hostile discussions that the emergence of a centre of astronomy in ancient Germania must have provoked, the question at the forefront is whether this striking, almost astonishing astro-mythological phenomenon can be attributed to chance. Any attempt to resolve the matter through mathematical probability calculations fails due to the fact that there remains constant uncertainty and disagreement regarding the nature of the calculation, the azimuth figures, the number of mythologically 'relevant' stars, the permissible margins of error, and so on. For readers who wish to engage critically with the question of chance, I have summarised some observations and judgements below*. The experts were right to refrain from mathematical probability calculations and to leave the assessment of the question of chance to the simple logical reasoning of the individual.

In my view, the question of chance is most clearly illustrated by — V In the results of the mathematical calculations attempted on multiple occasions, the ratio of the 'probability of intention' to the 'probability of chance' ranges between 4000:1 and 5:1. Anyone, therefore, who gives their unreserved assent to the sharpest criticism of these figures, without taking into account considerations such as those that appear necessary in the case of Line I, must then still concede that, on average, only one out of any six arbitrarily hexagonal plotsonly one can be expected on average whose azimuths have similar characteristics to those of the Stcrnhof.

But there is another consideration here that carries considerable weight and must be given its due. The entire purely mathematical method of calculation need not even be accepted as appropriate to the very earliest stage of the history of discovery that I have described. For even then, this farmstead was not, for me or for others, just any hexagonal plot of land: it was neither an industrial site nor any other property devoid of history; it was not a small farmstead among others, nor an enclosed pasture or garden; it was situated neither in a borderland nor in a valley floor, etc., but presented itself from the outset as an object well-suited to this hypothesis. The other characteristics and the astronomical findings regarding the 'boundary lines' came together to confirm the hypothesis and then elevate it to a scientific assumption.

In the purely mathematical calculation, however, we are dealing with entirely arbitrary plots of land which are, in principle, devoid of all geographical, historical, archaeological and other characteristics that we have already come to know in part at the Sternhof and some of which will be discussed later. The moment the calculation takes into account not hexagonally marked-out areas of paper, empty fields or the like, but only hexagonally bounded sites — large or small — which in some way provide cause and opportunity to be investigated for their former cultic purpose, the ratio would skyrocket to unimaginable heights.

What began as a preliminary stage has now developed into a situation in which, even without the astronomical findings, we are led to assume the existence of an ancient site of cultic significance.

If, at the initial stage, it had become apparent that the astronomical evidence was far less conclusive than had initially been assumed, this would have led me at the time to consider whether the thesis might not have to be abandoned with a 'non liguer'. As things stand at present, this is no longer even remotely conceivable; rather, it seems to me that, once all reasonable archaeological and historical requirements have been met, the objection to the thesis must be regarded as groundless by all those who have not fundamentally opposed Germanic astronomy.

even even in regard to its inadequate mathematical aspect —. illustrated by a lottery analogy. The figures used have been calculated as carefully as possible.

Place 90 tickets in a box. These are intended to represent the number of possible directions for all 6 walls, i.e. just 151 for each line. Then, by extrapolation, select 24 numbers as winning numbers (for the Sun, Moon and 10 stars, sunrise and sunset), which are intended to represent the astronomically and mythologically significant azimuths of a given period. Each participant must draw six tickets from the urn. The prize is won by whoever has six hits with their six tickets. Just as many people must be admitted to this dreadful lottery until one has won the prize, so many hexagonal estates must be established in the world without astronomical intent before any one of them would have the prospect of exhibiting the same astronomical quality as Oesterholz.

The assumption of chance is also decisively refuted by the declination results reported by Neugebauer*. Neugebauer has determined the times at which any of the fixed stars in question had a rising or setting azimuth that fits one of the Oesterholz lines. When these times are plotted on a graph, there is a marked cluster around the year 1800 BC, and a second cluster around the same time AD.

When asked why the ancients chose this particular site and no other, the reasons become abundantly clear once we accept that the Sternhof was a school of scholars where, just as is attested by the Goths, astronomy occupied a prominent place within the all-encompassing theology.

Regarded as a place of residence and activity for a school of scholars, which was to be situated in the shared sacred area at Osning and the sources of the Lippe, surrounded by the menhirs bearing powerful testimony, not far from the Externsteine, the location of the Sternhof is such that, it seems to us, the men once entrusted with the choice could not have envisaged a better place than this very one.

The site lies in the Sennewinkel, which is well sheltered from north and east winds, on the boundary between the sandy soils of the Senne and the heavy mountain soil. Nature had created a convenient 6-kilometre-long route to it through a straight mountain valley leading from the Externsteine; two excellent springs with fertile surroundings then marked the precise spot where the farm was to be established.

The mountain range—not too close by—left the northern horizon, from north-west to south-east, unobstructed, and the vast Senne plain offered views of the setting stars similar to those seen over the sea. In life, advantages rarely come without some drawback. If those astronomers wished to remain near the other sacred sites and not settle in inhospitable high mountain locations, then they had to accept that they would not have the entire horizon unobstructed. It may well have been the case that the inquiring astronomer in Oesterholz was not entirely satisfied that the rising of the stars was obscured by the elevation in the east (the

' Mannus, 1928, Issue 1, p. 221 ff.

(the highest elevation at Völmerstot is 270 m, 8 km away) were delayed by a tiny amount, it stands to reason that it was just as simple and advantageous for teaching purposes to use the lines of the enclosure to observe the sets as it was to observe the rises. In the case of Line VI, too, I believe the setting point of Spica was the determining factor, to which was coincidentally added the rising point of Pollux, which lay on the same line around 1850, and not the rising point of Castor. Compare this with the consideration given above regarding the free and local horizon!

I do not wish to overlook one further observation regarding the astronomical question. The main lines, mostly paths, which run distinctly across the site, gave the impression that they might form part of the astronomical system; however, an examination of their azimuths yielded no results for the period around 1850. On the other hand, the investigation showed that the azimuths for the period around 1300, that is, 550 years after the first layout, matched several of the Oesterholz stars, namely Sirius at 61°, Capella at 160°, Pollux at 141°; as well as Spica at 105.5°, and the Pleiades (Alcyone) at 105". My conjecture is that the Oesterholz stargazers sought to remedy the situation when, after several centuries, the progressive precession of the stars had caused such deviations from the lines originally drawn. The Pleiades (Gluckhenne, also a feminine principle) were taken into account.

Anyone who, like us, attempts to delve into the peculiar world of ancient astronomical positioning Anyone who attempts to penetrate this field may be certain from the outset of the pitying smiles of those who believe they are entitled to claim a monopoly on scientific thought, even though they have long since been forced to restrict their supposed right of rejection to Germania, since it is simply impossible to deny the Oriental origins of the subject. But their position is also crumbling in Germania.

The widespread localisation of public sites in Germania, which we shall discuss in our 15th chapter, had already provided strong support for the Oesterholzer theory. Now, however, Mr Hecht, a schoolmaster in Holzminden, is opening up a new field for the scientific investigation of the localisation question, where we would not have expected it. It is the orientation of the old Christian churches, which we have hitherto regarded as rather insignificant, or at any rate as unproductive. The first brief publication has appeared in Kosmos. The insight into his highly interesting material, which Hecht has most kindly granted me, has convinced me that the alterations to the west-east axes of the old Christian churches brought about by the later choir extensions will, in a remarkable way, shed light on the orientation techniques adopted from Germanic astronomy into the Christian era.

As we have seen, the enclosure of the Sternhof extends far beyond the needs of an ordinary farmstead for demarcation, livestock enclosure, or protection against wild animals or sand drifts. In the sections where the ramparts are still preserved, it rather brings to mind, at first glance, a fortification. There appears to have been even more reason for this in the past than there is now, as an old map from the 17th century depicts the farmstead as a fortress. It is reasonable to assume that the entire complex was used for military purposes during times of unrest, and that it was then reinforced

has been considered. Therefore, Schuchhardt's view may well be correct that the ramparts (III, IV and V) date from the 17th century, as they appear today, we might add. The evidence does not make it plausible that a fortification of this scale was ever completed. A small ditch uncovered on the outer side of Line HI gave School Inspector Schwanold and Dr Stieren the impression of a Roman pointed ditch; but Line IV already showed only the faintest hint of a ditch. Moreover, it seems that they did not manage to encircle the entire rampart with a ditch at all, a curious phenomenon, since a rampart is usually constructed primarily from the material of a ditch.

The only thing that matters to us is that the route has not been significantly altered, and furthermore that the military experts, Lieutenant Colonel Schroeder and Colonel Wittenstein, conclude in their expert report:

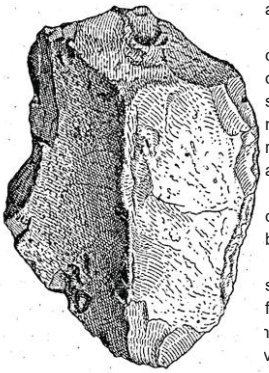


Abb. 35. Stein-Faustkeil

"From a military point of view, the purpose of the entire complex remains a mystery, whichever period of time we choose to consider." Neither the assumption that the structure was originally intended to be a defensive fortress, nor the assumption that it was at any time planned as a refuge for the local population, finds sufficient support in the actual circumstances.

This leads us back to the entirely different cause of the complex, which has been so impressively suggested to us by the astronomical findings.

Your report suggests that the Oesterholz estate, which we shall henceforth refer to as 'Sternhof', was in fact a school for the deaf. It has always been the right of experts to

ıce of those facts. It is commendable that the Berlin

ve exercised their right despite the expected opposition.

of France — according to Caesar — had schools of learning,

ia — according to Jordanes — must have had schools of learning, so certainly were schools of learning also present in West Germania. Just as certainly as astronomy belonged to 'theology' there and everywhere, so certainly was this the case at Osning. These are binding conclusions, unless, on the field of history, alongside written sources and archaeological finds, rational conclusions—the logic and evidence of things based on our other knowledge—are no longer to hold any validity.

It seems to me that this astronomical finding, when considered alongside this scientific postulate, ensures that the discerning reader can no longer pass by the centre of astronomy in Oesterholz without a second glance. Thus, the question of how the estate's other circumstances—above all its history and any other features present—relate to the significance attributed to it becomes of the utmost interest. In this regard, it is of considerable value that an ancient astronomical site

must also be regarded as a religious site, just as a ‘Master’ must necessarily be regarded as a religious institution. Consequently, we can readily apply the perspectives and considerations relevant to a Germanic cult site to the further substantiation and justification of the Oesterholz thesis.

The historical perspective, which offers us a wealth of information and insights of the utmost value, is best addressed following the necessary more detailed investigation of the Germanic Marches. At this point, it is worth

mention a few archaeological features in the Gntsbofe area of high archaeological value. First, a word about the immediate surroundings.

The area south, north and west of the Gntshof, stretching far along the edge of the Senner and the foot of the Lsning, is abundantly dotted with megalithic tombs and burial grounds. Excavated throughout the last decades of the previous century, partly for the benefit of the London Museum, they provide no evidence of the time of their origin. However, the graves situated on the heights, investigated by Schivanold, date back to the earliest Bronze Age (2000 to 1000 BC). At Urciizkruge, some distance from Sternbofe, magnificent megalithic tombs were destroyed by steam ploughing only a few years ago; numerous pottery shards were found there. If it is assumed that only the nobility were granted such burials, then the abundance of megalithic tombs indicates a

evidence that people even from far away attached importance to being buried at Osning.

About 200 metres south-east of the Sternhof, a burial site with brick-lined graves dating from the Iron Age was discovered. According to the local vicar, Pastor Schelpf, a rumour that the contents were transferred to the churchyard in Schlangen not too long ago has not been confirmed. The burial of bodies in unconsecrated ground was forbidden by the Christian Church from the very beginning. Since there is neither any record nor any indication, nor any likelihood, of this site having been consecrated with regard to its owners in the Middle Ages and modern times, but conversely this burial site fits entirely with pre-Christian customs, it must be assumed that it served as the final resting place for the sages of Oesterholz, specifically during the last Germanic centuries, to which we must limit the period due to the iron finds and traces of lime mortar.

The archaeological finds in and around the estate, which, admittedly, reveal nothing about the site's astronomical significance either now or in the future, but do provide absolutely certain evidence of the settlement's minimum age, are as yet limited to the results of small-scale trial excavations carried out by Lurch Schwanold and myself on and around the spring hill, and to a recent survey of the surface conducted by Mr W. Düstersiek, to whom most of the finds listed below are attributable. They were all submitted to Müller-Brauel, Director of the Museum in Bremen, and identified by him.

A number of well-worked small flint tools, found in the garden area within the enclosure.

A large stone hand axe, a so-called 'museum piece' (Fig. 35), a surface find near the farmstead in the direction of Langelau.

Ceramic fragments, probably dating from the Bronze Age, and a small piece of bronze, found in and around the estate.

A sizeable fragment of a vessel made of Roman terra aisilwta, found on the spring hill of the estate.

Numerous pottery and other clay shards, the origin of which is attributed to the earliest Middle Ages (the so-called Frankish, or Merovingian, period), but some of which 'may also be older'. All manner of iron fragments, to which the same applies. The very numerous finds near the ancient oak at the Schwedenschanze must also be fully included here.

These archaeological finds are likely to be universally recognised as sufficient evidence of settlement at the site from the Neolithic period (or at least the Bronze Age) up to the year 772, which is the primary focus of almost all the investigations and considerations in this book.

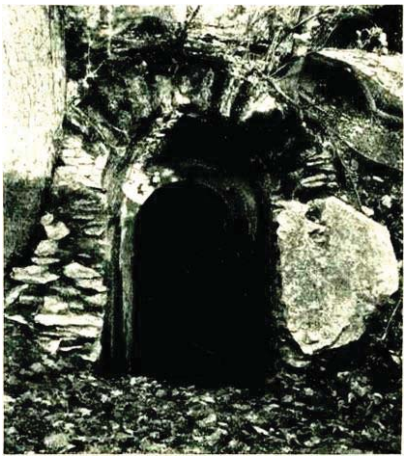
The foundation walls of the dwelling house will have to play a role once more in unravelling the history of the estate, as soon as archaeology is able to draw conclusions about the period in which the mortar was mixed from its composition. The foundation walls are likely to date back to pre-Christian times.

According to the previous owner, Privy Councillor Kellner, there are still numerous wall remains beneath the surface of the garden, some of which are even visible above ground. They await investigation, especially as, according to current knowledge—

of the estate's history, they are difficult to explain by the conditions of the later medieval period, unless the Hethi monastery was situated on the estate in the very earliest Christian era (822).

We finally come to the Duelle n h ii gcl, a highly interesting feature. About 10 metres away from the Wohnhanse (cf. No. 2 on the map, Fig. 31), there rises a man-made mound about m high, containing 2–3,000 cubic metres of mostly clayey sand, which we find in the surrounding area in striking thicknesses of up to m (Fig. 31).

The original shape of the mound has been greatly altered, particularly on the north side, evidently due to excavation—extraction of soil, followed by replenishment with rubble, including building rubble. This was also demonstrated by the aforementioned excavation, with its jumble of finds from a wide variety of periods, right up to the most recent. After all, the Roman buttock piece and all manner of other ancient pottery were also unearthed...



Attached to the side of the house facing the street is a small circular dome structure with a diameter of O metres and a height of N metres, into which one descends via a staircase. At its zenith is a dome approximately 60 metres in diameter, and towards the centre of the structure is a low-rise extension. The door arch , constructed from small rubble stones (Fig. 87), and the vault is made of bricks: in terms of dating, it is unlikely to date beyond the late Germanic centuries.

The well-known District Administrator of Uslar, together with his assistant, established the existence of a spring a few metres directly beneath the dome. The water drains towards the dyke, which in turn has two outlets that disappear as tributaries, just like the rest of the water from the property (cf. line 100). The fact that there is plenty of water is indicated by the pumping station situated immediately adjacent.

After consulting all the experts regarding the purpose of this curious structure, it became clear that neither the storage of fruit nor its use as an oven (to which it was put to use in later times) nor its use as a prison could have been the reason for the construction of such a structure; nor can any statement be made regarding the period of the complex's origin, apart from its present condition, as long as we remain

so in the dark that opinions stand in stark and irreconcilable opposition to one another. The situation here is similar to that of the Hünnenkirche in Kohlstadt. A complete failure of all attempts at explanation as long as one adheres to a later date of origin; — clear insights and a plausible meaning of the structures when they are regarded as pre-Christian.
This domed structure finds its satisfying, well-founded explanation as a Germanic spring sanctuary. This is supported by the enigmatic large opening at the zenith, which, in the darkness of the building, granted the worshipper—who was connected to the earth's interior through the spring—a connection to the heights of heaven at the same time. Just as was the case 30 years ago in Pyrmont, it would probably be worthwhile here too to uncover the buried ancient spring. That our ancestors had sacred springs is, even without the Pyrmont spring, one of the completely indisputable facts of our knowledge of Germanic cult life. Even today, as they pass by a spring called Glühthing between Marsberg and Canstein, people still spit into it as a sign of contempt — a nest of the desecration of a once-sacred spring. Primarily, however, the sacred springs were surely to be found in places such as Oesterholz.
Thus, one link in the chain follows another, bringing to life the image of the farmstead as a Germanic sanctuary.

Let us now once again consider the plausibility of the vision that has emerged before our eyes: a centre for the study of astronomy in Oesterholz!
The Externstein provides us with a testament of immense power to the well-documented fact that there was a celestial cult in Germania, and to the validity of our belief that astronomy must therefore also have existed there. If the Externsteine, as is evident, were not a suitable location for the seat of the astronomers, it must nevertheless have been in the vicinity of the university. A comfortable, direct route through the mountains led to Oesterholz in 1½ hours, situated at the source of the Lippe, at the south-western foot of the Asen Mountains (Osning, Osnegge, Egge der Asen). There was a natural site there for the fulfilment of their task and for the reception of those who were to pass on the knowledge to future generations. They therefore gave the estate they founded a considerable size. It was deemed appropriate to give the estate a character derived from their science and expressing the service of Ostara. This was the orientation of the boundary lines, similar to how their colleagues in the East had oriented their buildings. Our lack of understanding of these matters does not negate what has been demonstrated in the East and what seeks to reveal itself to us. Whether for the ancient astronomers this held merely religious significance, or whether it also served a practical purpose—for instance, during the popular evening lessons whilst walking—such legitimate questions can scarcely be answered with mere conjecture.
In such a place, the astrologers sat from generation to generation, for whom the traditions handed down to them were always to be held as precious and sacred. Though times, people and rulers changed, their service never became obsolete. No shift in beliefs or customs rendered their work superfluous.

It need not have been a hereditary class of astronomers, but what Jordanes tells us about the astronomy of the Goths does suggest a concept similar to that found among the Gallic druids. The astronomer would certainly have enjoyed the esteem of the ‘Goden’.

The astronomers had thus taken it upon themselves to mark the boundaries of their courtyard according to the stars. We do not know how they originally marked out the lines. But given the Germanic preference for enclosing all areas set aside for any purpose, there must have been some form of enclosure here too, and it must have remained in place. When the enclosure began to fall into disrepair, they would repair it and were careful not to alter it in any way. They did so until the very end came, and this end certainly came in the years 772–804 AD, when the King of the West Franks, intent on violent Christianisation, became lord of the land, and spared nothing that could be regarded as service, expression or favouring of the old faith. The more complete the subjugation of the Germanic people became, the greater the progress of conversion, and the more the people themselves were drawn into the fervour of the new faith, the less resistance the will of the new rulers met in their efforts to sever the people from their past and cut the manifold threads of memory.

Thus it was also the fate of Germanic astronomy, with its intimate connection to the old faith, to be sunk into the sea of oblivion. Through endless ages, the diligent seafarers stood watch on freezing cold starry nights, pondering, calculating, advising and teaching; princes and people heeded them and organised their lives accordingly. Then their memory was erased.

Now, however, the estate has been found. Its boundaries were considered to be sufficiently well-preserved to reveal the peculiar, harmonious astronomical orientation within them, leading to the conclusion that this cannot be a matter of chance.

Just as if someone travelling through the wilderness had found a tree whose bark bore the overgrown but unmistakable figure of the Pythagorean symbol, and thereby became certain that here had stood not merely a human being—perhaps a savage—but a person of intellectual cultivation, so too is it with our discovery of the astronomical lines of the Oesterholz estate. We, too, are glad that we are dealing not with savages, but with men of intellect, when we remember our ancestors.

The following chapter will show us the nature of the historical context into which an astronomical school of scholars at Oesterholz must be situated.

6. The Marches and the History of the Oesterholz March

/"^The Old Germanic ‘Marken’ were neutral, uninhabited lands situated between the ‘Störn-men’ (also known as ‘Gauen’, etc.), consisting mainly of forest, heathland, marshland and abandoned settlements. The failure to recognise this significant aspect of living conditions in ancient Germania has led to the confused, contradictory picture that confronts us as the result of the great scholarly efforts of those who have studied the oldest land constitution. In this narrow sense, the ‘Sunder n’—as isolated tracts of land—also belong to the ‘Marken’ in terms of their legal status; we know nothing of their other significance.

Fundamental to our understanding of the nature of the ancient marks are the concordant accounts of Tacitus and Julius Caesar. The latter states: ‘For the individual tribes, the greatest glory lies in having created wastelands over as wide a radius as possible by ravaging the neighbouring lands. At the same time, the individual tribe sees in this a source of even greater security for itself.”—Heusler’s apt remark applies to Caesar’s foolish notion of deliberate “devastation”: “Where the southern scholars attempt to explain, they almost always miss the mark.”

The second indispensable source of our knowledge is Nübel’s work^. It is a collection and lucid, clear analysis of extensive material. Although Nübel, unfortunately, shows no interest whatsoever in the previous multifaceted and great significance of the Marches, he nevertheless depicts the violent work of the division of the Marches by Charles the Great through a mostly dry enumeration of individual events with such vivid strokes that conclusions about the preceding circumstances are possible.

The width of the old estates varied greatly, not only because of the relationships between the landowners, but above all for natural reasons (the extent of the mountains, etc.). There were also estates ranging from districts and small communities to the narrow strips of land that clans left between the plots of land allocated to them.

The large marks were primarily free hunting grounds. Only where they narrowed to such an extent that disputes over hunting, timber harvesting and grazing could arise did they necessitate agreements between the markgenossen, that is to say, the residents on either side of the marks who held rights there. This undoubtedly constitutes the oldest meaning of the term ‘markgenossen’.

Following the complete abolition of the old marks according to principles that no longer tolerated neutral land, the original concept of the mark disappeared, but the word remained in the German lexicon. The name not only clung to some actual former marks, but was now also applied, in a diluted sense, to forests or estates that were

* The various interpretations are clearly summarised by Dopsch. Dopsch, Economic Foundations of European Cultural Development I, Vienna: Seidel & Sohn, 1918. – Lärrr, Oc dello (Zallico VI, ref. ‘Prof. Heusler-Basel in Nollaus: German Revival.’) Rübel, The Franks, Their System of Conquest and Settlement in the German Homeland.

had never been ‘Marken’ in the ancient sense, e.g. the field boundaries of any local communities; or the word was also simply used for a border, e.g. in ‘Markstein’. Prehistoric conclusions may therefore only be drawn from the name ‘Mark’ with great caution.

But where there is specific historical evidence regarding the age of the name, as in the case of the Oesterholzer Mark, or where the name recurs so frequently that a ‘Mark’ territory or ‘Mark’ belt can still be identified, the name ‘Mark’ can also serve as valuable evidence.

Those entitled to rights within a Mark were still called ‘Markgenossen’ even later, when the Marks were no longer neutral but had, for the most part, not passed into private ownership, having instead become the property of a section of the population. However, there is no reason to assume

— with appropriate qualification — and the term ‘Markgenossen’ as not having already existed in the early Carolingian period. It is the established approach to use such reasonable assumptions from the earliest historical period to penetrate the immediately preceding prehistoric period.

It seems to me that a map of Germania, on which all the forests and tracts of land still bearing the old name ‘Mark’ – or which used to bear it (i.e. without being part of the modern field boundaries) – were carefully marked in colour using schematic symbols, could make a significant contribution to unravelling the geography of ancient Germania. It would be worth a try.

If connected routes were found to be likely, this would also identify the roads along which the great migratory groups dispatched by the tribes once travelled without inconveniencing the inhabitants of the region (cf. the discussion on the Migration Period in Chapter 16). This would lead, with good prospects of success, to an investigation of the Germanic road network, including the Rennsteig and ridge paths, and many a path now inexplicable, leading through deep, secluded forests, which, by its nature and the parallel paths of ancient use, bears witness to its former significance, would be brought to light. That these paths, running through the Marches in a north-south direction, were also used for long-distance trade of the time and for other forms of travel must also be inferred from the fact that the trading centres, the ‘market’ places, were located in the Marches, which served simultaneously and primarily for barter trade between the neighbouring tribes and districts. We have moved beyond the time when we were content to trace the word ‘Markt’ back to ‘moreator’ and, quite satisfied, accepted this word as a loanword from Latin. Rather, we ask the reverse question: whether the root ‘marc’ was borrowed into Latin from the Nordic languages—a possibility justified by the far greater antiquity of Nordic cultural development—or whether the root was and has remained a common heritage. Only in the Wetterau dialect has the ‘ic’ sound been dropped.

It is likely that, often in close practical connection with the significance of the ‘Marken’ for market trade, the ‘Marken’ encompassed the sites for all communal gatherings, festivals and other shared facilities.

With the communal gatherings and festivals of the Markg-people in the Markgs * Schmitthenners German dictionary. ? Ebert, Reallcxilon der Vorgeschichte Vol. VIII, p. 34.

we come to the question inextricably linked to this: the locations of the communal religious sanctuaries, whether we are thinking of several tribes or several districts and smaller groups of people: they were situated in the Marches.

That common sanctuaries existed, and that they were situated in the Marches — neither of these points is disputed. HelnL remarks on the Trnndholm sun-chariot: 'It is scarcely conceivable that such a cult object existed without a periodically regulated cult order', and Schaumann says: "Worship took place in the open air; the daily observance was the responsibility of the head of the family, and only rarely did people gather for general festivals. The Mark naturally provided the most suitable place for this, as it did for all communal activities, and since this was mostly the forest..."

When Tacitus tells us of the Tansana sanctuary shared by the Marsi and other prominent tribes, when we hear of the supra-tribal significance of the seeress Veleda in Civilis's time, and when the Saxons gathered at their customary place of consultation in Marklo during the wars against Charlemagne, these are clear historical testimonies from which far-reaching cultural conclusions should finally be drawn. If, as Einhard reports, the tribes were accustomed to deliberating and deciding in Marklo on matters of war and peace—that is, on the most fundamental questions of their existence—then such a custom, which naturally usually concerned internal disputes, is entirely inconceivable without a permanent, shared supreme jurisdiction.

In the early Middle Ages, Oesterholz had a court of law, specifically a 'Freistuhl' – a seat of higher jurisdiction; this is clear evidence of the site's similar character in the preceding Germanic period. Such places of justice were probably tolerated in Christian times, but were never re-established, least of all in places such as Externsteine and Oesterholz.

As we know, as late as 1525 a Count of Waldeck granted the Freistuhl at Osterholte, together with the associated farmsteads (one of the Oesterholz farmsteads?), to the Lord of Calenberg near Warburg; this could not have concerned judicial authority, but only the estates and the site 'near Kohlstädt and Schlangen, almost on the road leading to Schlangen, close to the Walken'. Accordingly, the Freistuhl is to be sought closer to Oesterholz than the 'Hagedorn' of the Tedingerheide.

In Greece, too, the sanctuaries (Olympia, Dodona) were associated with judicial authority, as we see in the Oesterholz and at the Externsteine. 'Amphictyons' was the name given there to those residing at the sanctuary, who were not only responsible for its upkeep but also acted as guardians of the international law governing relations between the participating tribes. We must assume similar circumstances for Oesterholz. It appears that the small tribe of the Dulgubini were entrusted with the guardianship of the common sanctuaries; it is described by Ledebour as part of the Cherusci, lived, according to Tacitus, 'torno annivorum' — from the west 'behind the Angrivarii' — and, according to Fürstenberg's map, had its settlements in 'Helm, Germanic Religious History. - History of the Lower Saxon People, p. 121. 'Ledebour, Land und Volk der Brulterer.

between the Cherusci and the Chatti, so that we would have to assign to them the territory from the Nethegau as far as Horn.

Anyone who looks at our overview map and considers the geographical location of the Osterholz Mark, with the Osning Mountains lying beyond it – which, together with the Kohlstadt and Schlangenei Marks, formed a Mark territory of considerable size – will recognise the exceptional advantage of this location amidst the Germanic tribes that played a role in the Roman and Frankish wars, . This area was connected to the Hornsche Marl and the Holzhousener Mark, between which lies the Knickenhagen with its Len Externsteine. Although the ancient fortification method of the 'Knick'—consisting of living shrubs grown together in the tightest possible manner—was employed in very numerous other places, the enclosure of sacred groves was probably the oldest, and certainly the most striking, use for the people. For the hornbeam, the tree most suitable for the 'Knick', derives its name from this. Where the hornbeam grows wild, that is to say, without any apparent reason for its deliberate planting in the Middle Ages or modern times, one must keep one's eyes open when looking for the places where the ancients went about their business.

The Holzhausener Mark seems to stretch across the Brautberg and Bannenberg near Schmissen which is said to have been connected to the Schönemark, to which the Leistrup Forest (Chapter 12) adjoins via the Fissenknick. Then, to the north, we have the Dörenwald, the mountain forest known as 'Der Knick', part of which is still state-owned, and then, beyond the state forest at Kluckhof, the Lemgoer Mark, Lüerdisser Mark, 'Luher' Heath, Leeser, Reetzer, Jstorfer, Vrüntorfer Mark with Mönkeberg and Rehberg, Matorf (1345 Marktorp) and then the Hohenhausener (formerly Hodenhausener) Mark, thus reaching the junction with a large Mark area which encompasses the Heidelbecker Knick, Stöckerberg and the Marks of Tevenhausen, Langenholzhausen, Kalldorf, Hellinghausen, Stemmen, Varenholz, Erder and, north of the Weser, the marks of Veltheim and Holzhausen as far as the Porta. A considerable portion of the aforementioned forests is state-owned, a fact which must therefore attract our particular attention, as it suggests that, at the time of Charlemagne, land was granted from the available common land to the great lords of that era.

Apart from the 23 areas bearing the name 'Mark' within the 'Mark belt' indicated on our map, there is only one other group of six Marks in the Lipperland region, situated between the Fissenknick and the Hiddenser Mark near Herlingsburg, which also gives the impression of a belt separating two districts; Wilbasen would then lie within this belt; its large annual folk festival with a horse market is said to date back to the Germanic period.

There is only one isolated mark remaining at 'Wüsten' (with its old name reminiscent of a mark – it may have belonged to a mark route running from Lemgo to Schweicheln), and a Grester Mark (first mentioned in 1789), about which I have no theory. Nevertheless, the location of these Lippe marks—whose archival identification is due to the work of Dr H. Schmidt—deserves serious attention. This would not only afford us a broader insight into the conditions of ancient times in general, but also provide the sought-after boundary between the Cherusci and the Angri in this region.

Our particular interest is focused on the Oesterholz Mark, which, because of the sanctuaries found within it, appears to have been the centrepiece of a large central mark of the allied tribes.

The History of Oesterholz

Once I had become certain of the significance of the estate in Oesterholz, I did not believe I could expect that enough historical and archival information could be gathered about the remote corner of the world in which Oesterholz lies to provide any support for the Oesterholz thesis.

Since, given the size and nature of the site and the peculiar nature of the core question, which lies in the realm of the intellectual, there is unfortunately little or no prospect of unearthing anything conclusive—be it positive or negative—even through the most extensive excavations, I initially assumed that the thesis would have to be confined to its astronomical basis, and that its acceptance could therefore only be expected where one was content with the astronomical assessment of the existing boundary lines, which are regarded as unchanged and deemed sufficiently precise. . '

But in the years that followed, the picture changed. Even Clostermeier's memorandum on the Kohlstadt ruins and the bailiwick of Schlangen, which was most kindly made available to me from the local archive, demonstrated the great antiquity of the name and the Mark of Oesterholz, dating back to the early Carolingian period, which in turn was itself closely linked to the conditions inherited from prehistoric times. Those dark centuries offered no scope for independent cultural endeavour, unless it concerned the consolidation of foreign rule, Christianisation, or the interests of the Church. For a long time to come, conditions were not such that the oppressed and dwindling population could think of establishing new farms. According to Wigand, the documents of the 9th–12th centuries contain quite a lot of "mansis et aeris clossrtis", that is, referring to places that have since disappeared but once existed. These earliest records concerning Oesterholz reveal links between this little corner of the earth and the rulers of the time, both within the Empire and the Church, from which one could surmise its greater significance. My examination of, amongst other things, the extensive archive material on the Schwarz family held in the local archives at least provided the certainty that there is no doubt as to the identity of the present Gierken house with the Schwarzmeiershof, granted by the Paderborn monastery, and furthermore with the Bevos estate in the Oesterholz district. Numerous other sources completed the picture of its history throughout the Middle Ages. Most significant, however, is the discovery of an attempted foundation of a monastery in Oesterholz.

From this, a historical framework has gradually emerged concerning the significance of Oesterholz as a market town and estate; in this context, the theory of it being an astral-mythological site finds as strong a basis as can reasonably be expected under the given circumstances. Now that attention has been drawn in this direction, further clarifying and illuminating

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' Corvey's estate holdings 1831, p. 64.

. The outcome will either prove favourable to our thesis or prove irrelevant to it. For, whatever may be reported about the estate after 772, the question always remains: 'What was there previously on the site, where there was, after all, no hole in the ground?'

The 'lack of historical records' in German prehistory inevitably means that our historical science, which is helpless without documentary evidence, is relegated here to the modest role of an assistant and, subsequently, a beneficiary of archaeology. It is futile to rebel against this regrettable but existing state of affairs from the standpoint of historical scholarship, and it is short-sighted to misjudge the legitimacy, necessity and achievements of archaeology and other avenues of knowledge, or even to strive, with a threateningly raised arm, to prevent the establishment of historical certainties by means other than documentary history. Once again, the suspicion arises that the deafness of many historians to the fanfare of archaeology in matters of Germanic antiquity has its roots not only in justified caution and restraint, but also in 'resistance'. For there is far too little evidence of the thorough reformation of the entire conception of history regarding Germanic antiquity, which should have come to light long ago.

Here we are dealing with a case in which there can be no question of either 'historical evidence' or historical counter-evidence; rather, historical documents at best establish a high degree of probability, whilst circumstantial evidence from astronomy and mythology, combined with local findings, provides certainty. The historical picture of our object, so strangely snatched from the darkness of oblivion and brought into the light, is characterised by clear lines and colour.

The area around the northern edge of Senne is evidenced by countless megalithic tombs and settlements as having been inhabited since ancient times, dating back to the Stone Age. A thorough archaeological survey, particularly of the Oesterholz area, is still pending, but the findings from the recent efforts reported above are entirely sufficient for our purposes to prove that the estate and its immediate surroundings have been an ancient settlement since at least the Early Bronze Age; regarding the Stone Age settlements, we have the new book by

H. Diekmann-Örlinghausen.

In the Roman period—as indeed in the Frankish period—the area around the source of the Lippe, of which Oesterholz forms part, held the significance typically accorded to a target of enemy military campaigns. We find the elder Drusus and Tiberius at the source of the Lippe. That the Romans had their most advanced military outpost here, be it Aliso or the unknown fort (Annals 2.7; 2.9); that Germanicus advanced here in both 15 and 16, where he expected the main resistance of the Germanic tribes; that this is where the 'msüia Cerwanla' of Velleius Paterculus (2, 117) is where Varus marched into and set up his headquarters, remains by far the most reliable historical knowledge we possess of the Roman period.

Thus, the Germanic school of scholars, which we assume was based at the Oesterholz estate, may well have been subjected to severe disturbances during the Roman period, especially if it should turn out that the Romans did indeed attempt

attempt to convert the estate, with its enclosure, into a defensive fortification for themselves. These were then probably the remnants of Varus's troops who had escaped from the mountains on their flight to Aliso.

In addition to the accounts of the Germanic struggles for freedom, which in any case affected the Oesterholzer Mark to some extent, Roman literature from the
1st century AD also provides us with the story of Veleda, the setting for which we seek and find here by taking all the circumstances into account.

The following centuries brought no major upheavals to the Germanic tribes of Lleckia. Without denying the various political changes that occurred in the interim, we arrive at this certainty because, in the Frankish period, we find the very same Germanic tribes that had repelled Roman rule still in place and forming a political community which, in 'Mark-loh', had a parliament that decided matters of war and peace. 'Wittekind's Saxons were the unadulterated descendants of the builders of the megalithic tombs' (Schuchhardt). How much more must the religious affinities, including the school of scholars at Oesterholz, have continued! There is not the slightest sign of 'storms of the Migration Period' in this region.

The shift of the centre of gravity of political developments away from the country must, at that time, have resulted in a generally peaceful domestic life for the Germanic people as a whole. Emigration, a drive for activity, and the gaze were directed, in the west of Germania, first towards Gaul, then towards Britain; in the east of Germania, towards Italy, Spain and North Africa. We are compelled to adopt this belief in the steady and robust cultural progress of Germania between 250 and 772—a view that stands in stark contrast to the scholarly opinion with which we are familiar—as soon as we rigorously eliminate every 'nikruioentum e silentio' and carefully evaluate all the positive cultural indicators that — painstakingly gathered from the most diverse sources — must rightly be applied to those periods of Germania.

In Oesterholz, science and religious worship held sway. In recent centuries, when sermons by Anglo-Saxon and other Christian missionaries were no longer a rarity, questions of Christianity were undoubtedly the subject of keen interest there. Generally speaking, they met with rejection in Oesterholz, as in the whole of conservative Saxony; yet there were long-scattered adherents of the new faith, upon whom befell the infinitely tragic fate of being regarded as traitors to their national heritage as soon as being Christian and being Franconian became synonymous. Later times, too, have shown that the German disposition is not equal to the moral dilemmas arising from such a situation. In Oesterholz, people will have yielded to coercion; the customary festivals ceased when they were prevented by the Franconian garrison of Neuhaus. Quiet Christian activity may have persisted at the Sternhof for a few years longer — perhaps until the Day of Verden. Then that too came to an end.

In Oesterholz, religious worship was primarily devoted to the Eastern deity. The name is far too common for any conclusions to be drawn from it alone. However, we have explicit historical evidence from Casimir

Wasserbach, a respected 18th-century writer living in Lemgo, whose knowledge was likely based on the oral tradition that still existed at the time, having been tenaciously preserved through the centuries. Perhaps he still had written sources at his disposal that we no longer possess.

Wasserbach published his research on a statue of Hermann the Cheruscan, which he considered to be identical to the Jrminsul, and in the introduction listed the other 'antiquities' of the region, including the Oesterholz Ostara sanctuary: "Iueon ao nomora eonsoorLta ckiis nvuck (lolstscko et kanum Ostsrae ckeao provo Ostsiliolr" (in English: sacred groves and forests dedicated to the gods near Kohlstädt and a sanctuary of the goddess Ostara near Oesterholz).

This provides historical evidence to support our conviction—already formed through entirely different lines of inquiry—regarding the cultic nature of the Oesterholzer Mark. It stands to reason that this sequence of events carries even greater weight than if someone had set out to search on the basis of a historical note and then declared: 'Here is what we were looking for.' The significance of Wasserbach's testimony for our thesis is so great that we must examine his person more closely.

With his mostly misguided explanations of names and his critical acumen, Wasserbach was a true child of his time. His introduction provides a good basis for assessing him as an honest writer; I reproduce most of it here in the translation by retired Professor F. Meyer; the entire pamphlet is available in the translation by K. Nase-Hiddesen (typescript).

The dissertation by Ernst Casimir Wasserbach, a law student, on the famous column of Harminius*

From the Preface

Hail to the admirers of antiquity!... That saying of Sallust's in *The Jugurthine War* is certainly famous: 'I have often heard,' he says, 'that Q. Maximus, Scipio, and other illustrious men of our state used to say: "When they gazed upon the images of their forefathers, their spirits were kindled to virtue."' Since this is the case, do not be surprised, kind reader, that I should bring forth from the obscurity of history the statues of the ancient heroes and the ornaments and monuments of our fatherland, and all that has been handed down to us in stone from pious antiquity, and present them to posterity as models. For although the whole of Westphalia is renowned for its many wars with the Franks, no part of Westphalia displays more magnificent traces and monuments of antiquity than the County of Lippe; here lie the sources of the Lippe and the Ems, rivers both of which have been stained red by the Germanic tribes and marked by Roman encampments, the assemblies of Charlemagne and the baptism of Wittekind; here, on the banks, stood the tower from which the seeress Vellida delivered her wondrous oracles; here lies the Teutoburg Forest and the Roman Field, here the great Siegfeld, in German Winfeld, places which are forever famous for the Varian defeat, the slaughter of three legions and the loss of the eagles — today's standards of Germany; here are the burial mounds and encampments of the legions near Herse and the graves of those who freed the people from Roman tyranny; here the Teutoburg Forest, groves and woods consecrated to the gods near Kohlstedt and a sanctuary of the goddess Ostera near Oster-Holtz; the ancient Detmold (Crlü-cm-llum) and the Schyderburg, once the residence of Charlemagne, on the Emmer, as well as the famous seats of the Ambrones, Cherusci and Vrutteri, the peoples most militant in the struggle for the freedom of the fatherland; here the ancient camp of Harminius, the liberator of Germany, when he sought the kingship, today called Harmiensburg, and I do not know, > Wasserbach, Oirrerrrrio <lc rcarua illurrri I^crminil, l-cinxoviae "s/illielini ine/eri 1698, p. -^5.

What other treasures of antiquity does this famous county not hold within it, all worthy of being preserved for posterity?

Since, of all these monuments, the most distinguished was the Hiermensul—erected by the memorable descendants of the Cherusci in honour of Harminus, their leader and the terror of the Romans, and subsequently conquered by Charlemagne after thirty years of struggle, only to be finally destroyed—I wished to restore it as an example for the Batavian people and for posterity. To this end, I have gathered the accounts of the ancient writers that still survive and have drawn from them, for their respective contexts, whatever I could elicit in the most truthful manner. Whatever has been greatly obscured by the opinions of lesser-known writers, and very often distinguished by them on the basis of mere rumour without judgement, I have considered with due care; finally, where appropriate, I have added what might serve to improve the understanding of Frankish history, drawing from reliable ancient traditions and historical sources; yet I would wish that in all this, people should not believe me, but rather those whom I intend to cite as witnesses to what is to be said. But you will say: If you have heard it from others, what new thing do you bring? Oh, if only I had nothing new to offer, but merely handed down to you the monuments of all the ancients unaltered, and had remained silent myself! Indeed, once this long day and this most voracious age have passed, I have taken pains to gather together once more the testimonies of the ancient writers concerning our Herm's Column, to restore them with their passages and sections, and illustrated them for greater clarity with figures carved here and with coins cut from metal. What else I have achieved in this new edition, you will see from a comparison of this with the earlier edition and from the judgements of the scholars.

This introduction faithfully reflects the views, style of expression and critical approach of the finest writers of that era. There is not the slightest reason to harbour any particular mistrust towards Wasserbach.

The historian must examine and sift through even the most dubious sources of the Middle Ages in order to extract from them what is uncontroversial and credible. No less caution should be exercised with regard to the classical writers, whose works are full of views and accounts which, from our perspective, must be described as follies, absurdities or fabrications. Even the subtle Tacitus, as a child of his time, serves up to us without batting an eyelid the most absurd accounts of omens, upon which the outcome of battles is thought to depend; and Pliny (IV) relates tales of men with horse's hooves and of others who cover their naked bodies with their excessively long hair (the Fanesians on the island of Fanø and the Hippopodes, whom he seems to place in Holland). Anyone wishing to do justice and apply the same standards must, with equal zeal, break the rod over Tacitus and Pliny and all the others who are no better, and deny them any credibility even in the most innocuous matters, as Wasserbach has already done on severaldone in the case of Wasserbach, in order to dismiss his testimony when it did not fit into the historical view of the critics, e.g. regarding his eyewitness accounts of archaeological finds on the Winselde, which are significant for the site of the Battle of Varus.

Wasserbach's account of the Ostara sanctuary is all the more credible because it could not even serve to reinforce his views. Nor did he wish to tell his readers anything new, but rather to set before them the sound reasons for their local heritage. The account states: It was still in the consciousness of the 17th century that there had been an Ostara sanctuary in Oesterholz. It is a pity that we do not even learn whether the memory of that time referred to a specific site

, perhaps to the three hills of which we shall speak, or to some other spot. We must gratefully content ourselves with the testimony: Oesterholz as the site of an Ostara sanctuary! There are more than twelve places in the Lippe region whose names include ‘Oster’; but Wasserbach knows of only this one sanctuary, which the reader is to regard with reverence!

The local population’s memories of ancient sanctuaries have, under the influence of a thousand years of hostile treatment, been transformed into tales of hauntings and horror. But the very fact that these tales exist must not be overlooked. The Sternhof is at the centre of this. Even in our own day, the fear of the White Woman (Freya I) and other ghosts (the spirits of the wise men driven out from there!) had not entirely died out, so that initially it was almost impossible for the family of the last owner, Privy Councillor Kellner, to find staff from the local area.

I myself was immediately regarded as someone who wanted to search for the great gold treasures said to be hidden in the estate’s cellar and at another very specific location.

Added to this is a legend of a tall tower that is said to have stood there, in which a woman lived who fed herself on pigeons (the pigeon being an attribute of Freya-Ostara), and in which spears and other weapons were said to have been kept.

A recollection of a real or supposed secret known to the inhabitants of the estate has survived as a rumour, which then—in accordance with the usual course of events—has increasingly been projected onto an object the people could conceive of, namely the Freemasons, as a result of the opposition of the Catholic Church: ‘In the view of the people, the Freemasons engage in supernatural activities that are very closely related to the Devil and the torments of Hell.’ Even if a Freemason were ever to have lived on the estate—which I have not yet been able to ascertain—the causes of this peculiar reputation are much older. It is part of the demonisation of the old faith during the Age of Conversion.

The name Oesterholz originally refers to the Oesterholz Mark, that is to say, to the border region in which the village and manor were situated. The fact that the village and manor took their name from their surroundings is a very common phenomenon in the history of place-names; there is no point in attempting to distinguish between them here. In the oldest documents, we find the forms Astanholte and Marcha in Osterholte. Later names beginning with ‘Oster’ may also have a purely geographical meaning; here, however, the idea of a connection between the name and the Easter service is obvious. Its transformation to ‘Astanholte’ in the monastery records is perhaps an example of the intention, during the period of conversion, to eradicate even those names that evoked the old faith. But in this case, the attempt failed due to the persistence of the popular name. The area of the great royal tombs in the Lüneburg Heath is also called ‘Ostenholz’, and it would be worth examining the ‘Oster’ places to see whether their names merely denoted the cardinal direction.

The present-day village of Oesterholz, to which only the recent settlement drive has brought a number of new

houses, consisted of so few settlements throughout the Middle Ages that ' Heine, Mysteries 1878, Hanover. ? Deuteronomy 12:2: Destroy all the places.....and wipe out their names from that place.

we can manage without confusion, despite some vague historical accounts. There were only two actual farms:

a) The feudal estate of the Henke farmstead, whose farming rights had to be specifically purchased from the sovereign by the farmer i n 1594;
b) the Schwarzmeiershof (later Haus Gierken), which was a fief of Paderborn; this is our Sternhof. In addition
e) three to five associated small cottages (two belonging to the Schwarzmeiershof), one of which may once have been the Freistuhl farmstead.

For a long time, the little village was known as 'Kohlstädter Heide' and was part of Kohlstadt, until it recently regained its old name.

When the old records refer to monastic or ecclesiastical property and feudal rights relating to an estate in Österholz with servants and labourers, they can mean nothing other than Schwarzmeier's farm.

The earliest record* tells us that this estate already existed during the time of Bishop Warin of Corvey (826–853). The property belonged to Bevo, son of Duke Ecbert, and was bequeathed to Corvey Abbey in the event of his death without an heir. Corvey had a quite unique historical connection with Oesterholz.

It is noteworthy that Charlemagne deemed it appropriate to bestow precisely these economically impoverished territories upon his most trusted man. This was not intended as a reward for loyal service; he had ample good land at his disposal for that purpose. Rather, he wished to know that these dangerous places were in the hands of his most reliable and strongest man. All this forms part of the facts which, in their consistency with the circumstances of the time, are of extraordinary help. Let us form a vivid picture of the events surrounding the subjugation and Christianisation of Saxony.

The most important point, however, which I can report with some reservation regarding the history of Oesterholz, is the attempt—which fits perfectly with the circumstances and mindset of the time—to transform the old school of scholars into a monastery. We shall have to examine this highly interesting matter in greater detail. The attempt dates back to the year 815. When the site was abandoned as a monastery in 822 and the monks had left Oesterholz, the property reverted to Bevo, who, for reasons now understandable, wished to transfer it not to the nearby, competent authority at Paderborn, but to Corvey.

The inheritance stipulated in the will did not come to pass. For some 150 years later, around the year 1000, we find a nun named Oda of Gesecke as the heiress of Oesterholz, who bequeathed it to the Church of Paderborn. Between 822 and 1020, Oesterholz thus belonged to the Ecberts family, in which the name Ida Oda occurs frequently.

Paderborn granted the estate to the Schwarz family, who were counted among the four 'Stapeln' (pillars) of the Busdorf Monastery in Paderborn. According to the earliest surviving feudal charter, dating from 1482, the grant was made 'in the same way that these estates had always been held in fief by our monastery from time immemorial'. We therefore have a very straightforward succession of ownership: following the division of the Margraviate by Charles, initially the Ecberts family until 1020, then the Busdorf Monastery in Paderborn with the Schwarz family as vassals until 1591. Possibly Hethi as an interlude.

i Falke, Hist. Corbej. - Vic- t/lcinv-rci l p. 530.

There is also a record dating from 1320 stating that a tract of woodland in the Oesterholzer Mark, belonging to a Kohlstadt estate, was likewise granted to the Stapel Schwarz by the Count of Schwalenberg, a secular representative of Paderborn; Paderborn thus owned, in addition to the manor, a Kohlstadt estate with woodland holdings. Since the estate undoubtedly originated from the transaction in which Paderborn acquired the Externsteine from the noble Lady Ida and her sons in 1093, this record once again confirms the significant close connection between the sacred sites of the Externsteine and the Kohlstadt and Oesterholz Marches.

The later history of the Oesterholz estate, from the dawn of the modern era to the present day, however eventful and turbulent it may be, offers little of value to us. We learn that it was primarily the Thirty Years' War that brought devastation and fire to the estate, the traces of which we can still see today. The unsuccessful attempt to convert the existing enclosure—whatever form it may have taken—into a defensive structure was probably made for the last time during the brief period of the count's ownership. Thus, the appearance of the enclosure as it presents itself to us today was essentially formed from older and newer elements.

In a barter transaction in 1591, Adolf Schwarze ceded the Oesterholzer Hof to his sovereign, Simon II, who relinquished the feudal obligation, and added the Henle farmstead together with the farming rights in 1594. Thus arose the Princely Farmstead, which was expanded into a moated castle with a hunting lodge, later became a head forester's office, and now serves as a retirement home.

The Schwarzes, who lived in Braunbruch near Detmold, had probably ceded the unprofitable estate to a steward in return for a very small fee.

The last steward regarded himself as the owner and, as the story goes, refused to be evicted when the estate was sold: "Ut mine schcuiien Elen gay et nich erut". During the Thirty Years' War, the estate was frequently occupied and harassed by foreign troops.

For centuries, the farm was known as the Schwarzmeicrs Hof, even after Count Hermann Adolf incorporated the most valuable lands into his dairy estate in 1656 and sold the now-impoverished, devastated farm to his gamekeeper Krecke. There is a document from the Horner Office dating from 1696, according to which Krecke had newly constructed residential and farm buildings, a brewery, two fish ponds, a vegetable garden and an orchard, and had surrounded the latter with a 'fence', which the assessors valued at 150 talers. Krecke built the fence with a sigh, on the count's orders, because of the wild horses that were ravaging the garden. The unfinished experiment of converting the enclosure—far too sprawling for the needs of a farmstead—into a fortification cannot, in any case, have been undertaken by Krecke; rather, it is more likely that Count Hermann Adolf (who, after all, also undertook a failed fortification project at the Exlernsteine) began the work and then got stuck. Historically, we learn nothing further of these matters. But on an 18th-century map, the estate is shown as a fortress.

We are faced with a mystery regarding the ramparts and walls, which cannot be compared to the mere enclosure of a courtyard in the ordinary sense, and which, according to expert military judgement, could never have been intended from the outset—at any time—as either a defensive fortress or a refuge. We must assume that an old enclosure, constructed for some other purpose and of some other nature, was, simply because it existed in this extent and form, passed down from generation to generation; it was not removed, but rather utilised, reinforced and renewed, however much the owners may at times have regarded it as a burden.

Only in this way can the numerous other puzzling individual features found on the estate be explained: the inclusion of marshy land; the choice of an irregular mathematical shape for the plan, not dictated by the terrain; the incompleteness of the enclosure; the presence of a Roman-style ditch, whilst other sides have different, unfinished or even no ditches at all; the construction of a large artificial mound within the enclosure, into which a mysterious domed structure has been built over a spring; thick foundation walls in the cellar and other foundation masonry for which no adequate explanation can be found in the context of the Middle Ages and later periods.

Historical accounts and local findings alone should lead us to ask what specific purpose this ancient site in the Mark of Oesterholz may have served. For me personally, this question was the starting point. It found an answer in the astronomical findings, an answer that has since been expanded upon and confirmed in many ways, particularly through the connection this site has with the orientation customary in Germanic lands, and through the attempted founding of the Hethi monastery.

What we know about Oesterholz consists only of mosaic pieces of varying degrees of clarity. But these mosaic pieces are closely arranged, interlocking and
in some cases such distinct components of a larger picture that Oesterholz emerges from them in vivid colours as a significant site of Germanic sanctuaries.

Hethi

In historical matters, where the body of sources has long since been processed by scholarship and cannot be expanded upon by us, our primary concern is to read with a fresh perspective and to piece the facts together.

Hethi is the lost name of a place in ancient Saxony, the location of which has not yet been identified, where a futile attempt was made in 815 to found a monastery, a project that was finally realised in Corvey in 822. I demonstrate that Hethi was not situated in Neuhaus/Solling, as has been accepted without question since the 16th century, but most likely at the Oesterholz estate. A more detailed explanation based on the sources^ can be found in the journal of the Friends of Germanic Prehistory, ‘Germanien’, issue 3, 1930. Here I can only briefly set the scene and present the findings.

The founding of the monastery, intended to assist the clergy of Paderborn in the arduous Christianisation of the diocese, was decided upon at the first Imperial Diet of Louis the Pious in Paderborn following protracted preliminary negotiations, particularly regarding the location. Adalhard, the abbot of Corby Abbey in France, was simultaneously appointed abbot of the new monastery, which was named Hethi, i.e. Haide. Monastic activities, including the monastic school, could begin immediately and attracted a large number of people. But after a short time, Abbot Adalhard was sent into exile; the monks split into three factions and demanded the abandonment of this site and the election of a new, more suitable one.

It was a remarkable and, in every respect, inglorious affair, which is already evident from

the compilation of sources in the footnote on the following page.

the only ancient, fundamental account of the
‘Translatio St. Viti’, raises serious factual concerns. The main contradiction lies in the fact that the site of Hethi, chosen after great difficulty, is first praised as exceptionally suitable (multum aotus), rich in water, etc., but is later, in the course of the narrative, dismissed as completely unsuitable, barren and arid. In any case, the reason given for leaving Hethi—namely, its barrenness—turns out to be a pretext, perceived as such by others and supplemented by the account of a severe storm and the drying up of a spring. This may have been a secondary factor.

From the *Translatio St. Viti*, we learn that Hethi was situated in the Paderborn region and was subject to the Bishop of Paderborn. The account, which is otherwise quite detailed, refrains from providing any further information on its location; nor can any indirect clues be gleaned from it. Corvey near Höxter was chosen as the new site for the monastery, following extraordinary precautions.

For several hundred years, right up until the 16th century, there is no mention of the Hethi incident. However, it seems that oral rumours about the incident were circulating in Corvey, which Johannes Letzener (160-1) – who was opposed to Paderborn’s claims to sovereignty over Corvey in the interests of Corvey – appears to have used in his lengthy reports and in his assertion that Hethi was situated in Neuhaus/Solling. Neuhaus/Solling, however, lies east of the Weser, and thus outside the original boundaries of the Diocese of Paderborn, as defined by Charlemagne. The map by Bishop Ferdinand von Fürstenberg of Paderborn—which is certainly reliable in this instance and explicitly covers the period of the Frankish and Saxon emperors—reveals to the attentive eye the Weser as the eastern boundary. Sturm’s mission district from Fulda, from which the Diocese of Paderborn was formed, extended as far as the Weser and the Diemel; and these boundaries were to be maintained in accordance with Charlemagne’s orders. Beyond them lay the Provostry of Einbeck and the Diocese of Hildesheim, founded in the same year as Hethi (815).

The people of Paderborn, who knew nothing more about Hethi than what is recorded in the *Translatio*, could not contradict Letzener, but now maintained that the authority of the Bishop of Paderborn had nevertheless extended beyond the Weser, as this case demonstrates.

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in thlonumcnrr Lci-inLniac üllreoricr (Pcrtz) Hanover 1829, II: Hircorla lrLnüLlionis 8. Viel, pp. 577–580, — Letzener: ‘Chrom!’, (Life, Deeds and Achievements of Ludowici Pii Hantzsch, Hildesheim 1604, pp. 3, 7, 12, 41–16, 48,

77–79, 95 (read as 65), 10V (instead of 70), 105 (instead of 75) ff. — IckonumcnrL packerbornenriL Läirio alrcra priori Lucrior. ^mrrcrckLmi 1672 (map). — Ferd. v. Fürstenberg: Denlmale des Landes Paderborn (tnonumenrr

?a<ler- bornenüL, translated by Micus), Jungfermann'sche Buchhandlung, Paderborn 1844, pp. 325 ff., 332.

— R. P. Nie. Schalen: A Brief Account of the History of the Years and the Church from the First Origins of Christianity, Jungfermann, Paderborn 1768, pp. 17 ff., 34, 44–61. — Schoten: ^.nnales?sä. in the reports concerning the years relevant to our cause. — P. Wigand: The Corvey Chronicle, Meyersche Hof-Buchhandlung 1831, Lemgo, p. 150. — P. Wigand: History of the Princely Imperial Abbey of Corvey, Bahn, Höxter 1819, pp. 31–48, 68 ff. Footnotes 55–66. — P. Wigand: The Corvey Historical Sources, Vrockhaus, Leipzig 1841, pp. 2, 21, 22. — Meibom: Chronic. Corb., p. 755. — W. Wattenbach: Historical Sources of Germany, Vol. I, Hertz, Berlin 1885 (Desscrsche Buchhandlung) pp. 235 ff. — Letzener, ebrowca I.u6ovici, Andr. Hertz, Berlin 1885 (Besscrschi! Buchhandlung) pp. 235 ff. — Mabillon, ^crr Ssncrorum 1'om IV psA. 306 in Migne Vol. 105, p. 534. — Vier ^clLlbrrcli CtVawo) trlon. 6crm. II 525 ff.

Apart from this discrepancy, closer examination now reveals that the reasons put forward by Letzener for Neuhaus/Solling do not hold water in any way. Through oral interviews with local residents and written information from Fricke, a teacher knowledgeable about local history, it emerged that there are no monastic field names in Neuhaus on which Letzener relies, nor are there any remains of walls.

Finally, the decisive evidence confirming that Hethi cannot possibly have been in Neuhaus/Solling is the very specific account in the Translatio that the monks, when they moved from Hethi to Corvey, had to spend a night on the road. Neuhaus/Solling, however, is only 10–11 from Corvey.

Spending a night in the forest during this journey, which could be completed in 2–3 hours, must seem entirely impossible. Falke, who is also from Corvey, has noted this glaring contradiction and wishes to reject the entire Translatio on that account. Wigand would like to explain the impossible as possible, whilst the others remain silent. Letzener's claim that the sinkhole created by the storm exists in Neuhaus/Solling and resurfaces as 'red water' or the Notenbach is also incorrect. Furthermore, the formation of a sinkhole in the sandstone Solling Mountains is highly improbable for geological reasons, whereas it is a well-known phenomenon in limestone mountains. The older people in Neuhaus know nothing of any 'red water', whilst the younger generation, who have been informed about the Hethi hypothesis, believe that the village pond must be the 'red water'.

If Hethi was not situated in the Solling region, we must look to the Paderborn area, where a monastery may have existed between 815 and 822. Since all places with a documented history can be ruled out from the outset, and since architectural traces of such a monastery must still be found, the possibilities are limited to a very small number.

Foremost among these is the Oesterholz estate, to which all the general prerequisites apply in a wholly convincing manner, and for which there is, moreover, a very specific line of evidence. This evidence is as follows: whilst there is no sinkhole stream in Neuhaus/Solling, nor can there ever have been one, we have three such streams in Oesterholz; one that rises within the estate itself, disappears and re-emerges in the pond of the neighbouring farm, a second between the estate and the hill sanctuary, which behaves similarly, and then a third which rises at the hill sanctuary, sinks into the Langelau and, under the old name 'Rott- or Roten-Bach', re-emerges a few hundred metres to the south and flows into the Lippe. This establishes a highly striking connection with the tradition recounted by Letzener, Schoten and others, according to which the monks from Hethi were driven out by storms — a sinking stream and red water.

Added to this is the fact that a move from Oesterholz to Corvey (49 km as the crow flies) would indeed have required at least eight journeys. Furthermore, the almost astonishing consistency of all the general circumstances, first and foremost the fact that only a site so

as we assume the Sternhof Oesterholz to be, could have provided the opportunity for the spiritual activities reported to us during the six years of the monastery's existence. Further enigmatic wall remains, which are still located in the estate garden within the enclosure, require further investigation. —

Once we have convinced ourselves of this plausible solution to the Hethi enigma, we gain an extremely vivid picture not only of the interesting individual event of the failed monastery foundation, but also of the conditions and struggles that must have prevailed in that turbulent period immediately following Charlemagne's death. The following account is likely to be close to the truth.

Paderborn required monastic assistance with the particularly difficult task of Christianisation in its region, where pagan tendencies were still strong and where the people were, above all, reluctant to give up their traditional festivals so quickly and easily. The population of Saxony, a land often ravaged by war, had dwindled as a result of 32 years of uprisings, mass executions, mass exile and large-scale emigration to Norway and Britain. Those who remained had bowed to the greater power of the new God; but only a minority had been fully won over in their hearts. For the others, it was a matter of resignation, a hesitant compliance, a clinging as far as possible to their familiar faith and way of life, or perhaps even a stubborn, defiant, secret disobedience. The holy sites still attracted their visitors.

Duke Ecbert, of Saxon descent, who had been summoned from England and appointed by Charlemagne as governor of Saxony, resided in the West Frankish fortified castle built (according to Fürstenberg) on the site of the old Aliso near Paderborn, upon which the bishops later built their castles (now Neuhaus near Paderborn). In the great undertaking of the distribution of the Marches by Charlemagne, the Oesterholz March had fallen to Ecbert as his personal property; after all, the sacred groves and sites could not have been placed in more trustworthy hands. Excluded from this and assigned to the extensive estates reserved for royal authority were the pastures and grazing grounds of the sacred horses, the separation of which from private ownership has been preserved to this day.

Ecbert's sons and relatives from Saxony, to whom Charlemagne had provided—from the very outset of the war—a thorough monastic education, were already living in Corby, France, as zealous members of the Order. As in numerous other cases, these sons of the 'barbaric' Saxon people—who were deemed incapable of even the simplest cultural and intellectual achievements—had risen to positions of leadership with remarkable speed. From this entire clan—Adalhard, Wala, Warin, Theodrat and others—who had retained a heart and affection for their homeland, the Corby abbot Adelhard stood out as a noble and wise man. He promoted the founding of the monastery and in 815 was also appointed the first abbot of Hethi, holding the office concurrently with that of Corby, although relations with the rather different Bishop Hathumar of Paderborn were not entirely harmonious, and Adalhard was also among those who regarded the choice of location for Hethi as questionable. But the other faction — comprising King Louis, Ecbert and Hathumar — had just

Sticking to his guns, he considered the advantages to outweigh the reservations (“potius clssiävrars quam rssiators vvlls”) and pushed his way through.

Adalhard went to Hethi, whose soil, whilst not exactly barren, was nevertheless poor — the name Hethi means heath, Gothic Haithi, which, incidentally, is scarcely to be found in the Solling region — and of whose other characteristics he was, of course, well informed following many years of negotiations. The buildings of the Sternhof, which were probably partly dilapidated or destroyed, were restored. A monastic activity began, cautious and gentle in accordance with Adalhard’s knowledge of the people, which then also demonstrated its immediate success in the strong influx of monks and pupils.

But surely Adelhard had, on the one hand, to relax many of the spiritual practices and monastic disciplines that were possible in Gaul, and, on the other hand, to overlook or even incorporate into the monastery’s way of life and thinking many elements that stemmed from the old faith. This, however, filled his West Frankish and more Roman-minded observers with horror. One must first translate what Scheffel wove into his Ekkehard with his psychological insight from the Alemannic into the more robust and consistent Low Saxon, and then shift the whole setting back by 100 years, right up to the very edge of the Germanic era, in order to gain an idea of the spiritual forces at work in the Hethi monastery, which consisted predominantly of Saxon men and youths.

The worst rumours reached King Louis’s ears concerning the pagan practices that were running rampant in Hethi under Adalhard’s culpable leniency. Adalhard was denounced as a renegade, or at the very least as one possessed by demons, although, it seems, nothing could be said against his orthodoxy or his blameless conduct. The Translatio, in which we must of course read these things between the lines, expresses itself cautiously as follows: ‘dlibü proücerv potuerunt, nisi quoä rcüimo 8anota in loco ckeserto traäebatur. They could do nothing more than transmit the holy religion in that lonely place.” Within a few lines we read first of a mighty flourishing and then of such a decline of the monastery.

Louis’s narrow-minded piety must have been deeply outraged by Adalhard’s conduct in Hethi. For he dared to depose the influential man without further ado and send him into misery.

That the successor, of whose activities nothing is said and whose name itself remains unclear (a younger Adelhard?), proceeded in the spirit of Ludwig but by opposite means, we must, given the circumstances, take for granted. The result was the rapid development of unprecedented conditions. Instead of monastic obedience, three factions emerged: likely the supporters of Adalhard, the supporters of the new abbot, and a middle faction.

At the same time, the number of monks—which had initially grown so rapidly—declined to such an extent that by the time of the move in 822, that is, after only a few years during which the abbot could only have ruled from Hethi, there were, apart from the elderly and the boys, only a few monks of working age left; and even these were determined not to remain there under any circumstances. Only in this way can the hasty abandonment of the site of six years’ toil be understood. It is a completely different affair from the relocation of Hersfeld Abbey to Fulda. They did not even allow the representative in charge of erecting temporary dwellings at the

new site to carry out his work; they arrived with all their belongings and housed the sacred symbols and relics in a tent.

This whole affair apparently centred primarily on the monastery's site in the strictest sense of the word. This is also evident from the monks' fearful behaviour when choosing the new site at Corvey near Höxter, as far away from the old site as possible. Above all, they did not reoccupy any land that had already been built on, but marked out the dimensions on an open plot. Previously, they had taken great pains to ensure that nothing suspicious was present. But as if to mock them, a rumour later arose that a Jrminsul had in fact been found in the ground! In any case, this raises the question of what experiences may have been had in Hethi that they did not wish to repeat. The answer is obvious.

The new abbot's ruthless administration had stirred up all the spirits of dissent among the Saxon monks and the surrounding population, and in doing so had also reawakened the ancient spirits of the place. We can imagine that the abbot and monks were terrified and frightened by the hostile and diabolical clamour emanating from the sacred groves, where life had returned. At night, it became all the more eerie and dangerous. People no longer felt safe within the monastery walls; after all, only ten years had passed since the last bloody uprisings by the followers of the old faith! Detachments of the Frankish occupation troops stationed near Paderborn had to patrol the countryside to restore calm, but they could not, after all, be allowed into the monastery as an occupying force!

Here in the monastery itself, too, things were no longer peaceful; whispers and murmurs began to rise in every corner, apparitions grew more frequent, and neither incantations nor exorcisms would avail. There was no holding back now; even the bravest longed for another place where they might find the peace and tranquillity they had sought and expected to find in the monastery.

The bishop and the king had to yield. But the most striking thing is that Adalhard, who had been so shamefully driven out, was recalled in honour to set the tangled affairs back on track. He became the first abbot of the new Corvey. For chronological reasons, Adalhard's recall cannot be linked to Louis's general humiliation before his sons.

The attempt to render a major centre of the old faith harmless through ecclesiastical exploitation did not succeed in this instance.

The story of Hethis—as set out here—serves to shed light on the actual events of the period of conversion; and, based on the relevant facts, its inherent truth and persuasiveness make it a proof of our Oesterholz thesis, one which, given the prevailing circumstances in the field of history, we could scarcely hope for to be any stronger.

7. The ritual stone structure in Kohlstädt

Germanic architectural style — Veledaturm

The Kohlstadt ruins (Fig. 38), situated on the Externstein Moon Line, lie at the southern end of the village, where the road to Oesterholz branches off. Their base is washed by the Strote. They consist of a massive tower ruin with walls two metres thick, some of which still rise 10 metres above the water, and which may once have supported a tower of considerable height. The inner chamber, now filled with rubble, measures only about 5 m² in area. There were no door or window openings up to this height, similar to the tower in Grimm's fairy tale of the maiden Maleen. Access was from the water's edge, to the right of which lies a courtyard measuring 12 x 22 square metres, enclosed by weaker walls. The enigmatic nature of this structure, which Clostermeier's investigations 100 years ago and more recent research have failed to unravel, arouses our interest to a great degree. .

Its old names – Hünnenkirche, Heidenkirche or Alte Kirche – which in modern times people felt compelled to abandon in favour of the colourless 'Kohlstädter Ruine', are mirrored in the demonisation perpetuated by the legend. It is said that children were slaughtered here, and their mothers wept for them in the nearby vineyard. Treasures are said to be buried within, and as late as 1702, people banded together to dig for them in vain. Excavations were also carried out out of archaeological interest; for to archaeologists, the ruin has always been an unsolved mystery and, despite their efforts, remains so to this day.

Experts from various fields say that the structure could not have served any economic purpose (lime, metal or glass kiln), and that in this form it was pointless as a military base or road defence. Research in the Paderborn archives revealed that it was never used for ecclesiastical purposes,

— which, for structural reasons alone, seems out of the question. The idea of a residential castle or any other human dwelling must likewise be discarded, as the evidence contradicts all experience in this field and no rational explanation can be found for such a notion. Nor do the circumstances of the adjoining walled courtyard provide any basis for an explanation.

To my knowledge, the hitherto very inadequate excavations have uncovered only a single skeleton lying amongst the rubble, which is likely to be an indication of the tower's violent destruction. This solid masonry, constructed with a tough, quite peculiar mortar, would have withstood natural decay to this day had it not been deliberately destroyed.

Since no explanation for the Christian medieval period seems to hold water, we draw the logical conclusion that the 'Heidcnkirche' — much like the 'Hünenkirche' on the Tönsberg — must be attributed to the pre-Christian Germanic period, and we enquire as to its possible use.

Apart from our own ignorance, there is neither a factual nor a historical reason to contradict this conclusion. Or were the fathers and grandfathers of those men who, as early as the 9th and 10th centuries, took the spiritual leadership of Christendom into

, so utterly stupid, sluggish and clumsy in the 8th century and before that they could not even burn, slake and mix the lime from their own mountains that lay right before their eyes, indeed, that—in the event of their own excessive stupidity—they also, on top of everything else, resisted any enlightenment from their cousins abroad and their sons returning from foreign lands?
We are dealing here with one of the most disastrous errors in the assessment of Germanic culture.

Fig. N8. Hünncnkirchc in üoülslädt

Numerous obstacles stand in the way of clearing up the ambiguities surrounding Germanic architecture. Even the otherwise invaluable and unique find from the latest excavations in Trier (Pros. Löschte) can only bring us a small step forward, because it concerns Roman borderlands. Even if the uncovered buildings in Trier were found to have used lime mortar exclusively as a binding material, this would be regarded as a Roman rather than a Germanic construction method, and if it is older than the Celtic period.
According to information provided to me by Löschtes, no mortar structures dating from the period before the birth of Christ have been found on German soil. “In the subsequent Frankish period, around the 5th century AD, the outer walls of the temple precinct were erected using mortar, whilst more imposing structures within the city were built using high-quality mortar.”
Nevertheless, we now have conclusive proof that their technical

The Treveri, who displayed such skill so clearly and who, moreover, by no means rejected Roman methods (as the sculptures and pottery demonstrate), did not spurn lime mortar out of ignorance or clumsiness, but because they considered clay mortar to be more suitable, or at least sufficient, for the purposes at hand. In my youth, that is, hundreds of years after it had become customary to fill half-timbered structures with bricks and lime mortar, I still witnessed stables being built with clay wattle-and-daub, because this was considered warmer and better; but where it was deemed more practical, those very same village master masons built with bricks and lime. It would therefore be ridiculous to infer ignorance and backwardness from the clay walls.

Throughout ancient Germania, people generally preferred to build with clay. However, in the rare instances where a heavy stone structure was to be erected, such as the Kohlstädt Tower, or where a wall required exceptional strength, as in the case of the ramparts at Gunzenhausen described by Professor Eidam, lime mortar was also used. This would have been more common in places where the local mountains provided the lime, such as in Kohlstädt, than in places where it had to be brought in from afar.

In any case, it is most likely that the use of lime for the foundation walls of houses became widespread during the last Germanic centuries (500–800).

The case of Gunzenhausen, where the Germanic origin of the rampart wall has been proven beyond doubt, shows once again how deaf our age is to such enlightening information about Germanic matters. We may well wonder whether the Germanic origin of the Kohlstadt Heath Church, confirmed by the discovery of the axe, will be taken into account (see below).

Unfortunately, archaeological excavation is unable to extend its work to the actual sites where our ancestors lived, that is, to the old farmsteads. Our ancestors once settled precisely on the best, carefully chosen sites where our oldest farms still stand today. Over the centuries, it has scarcely ever occurred to a successor, whether in times of peace or war, to relinquish the established site. Even of the so-called deserted farms, which were left abandoned following the depopulation of the Thirty Years' War, it is naturally the very oldest—and thus best—settlements, which are of sole interest to us, that have once again become farms and can no longer provide any information.

Our archaeology therefore has no business seeking or finding anything at the actual dwelling places of the free Germanic peasant, just as it is impossible to excavate on an old urban plot where a Germanic ancestor actually lived.

In reality, archaeology is left with nothing to excavate and discover but either the exceptional sites—which yield scant finds—or the inferior sites—which present a distorted picture—of our ancestors' settlements and dwellings. These are primarily grave finds, which naturally can convey only an exceedingly incomplete, uneven and sometimes pitiful understanding of a people's culture, especially as they are, moreover, entirely subject to the custom of grave goods * Correspondence Journal of Ethnology and Prehistory, Thilemus.

This is a custom which, for example, had died out as a cult practice in Germania in the pre-Christian centuries, just as we do not have it now either. A cultural judgement of us based on grave finds would be no greater nonsense than that which has now, made possible and encouraged by the lack of grave finds, crept into the assessment of the pre-Christian Germanic centuries.

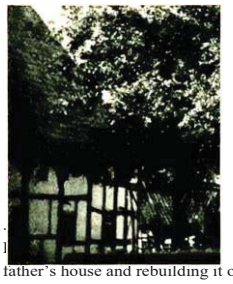
Apart from graves, the archaeologist's spade also excavates the secondary settlements of servants and common folk, makeshift dwellings and refuge huts for times of unrest, and the like, the finds from which are bound to present a wholly misleading picture of the culture. Added to these are encampments, ring walls and thing sites, where a discovery is a rare stroke of luck simply by virtue of the site's size, so that a thorough, systematic search of the entire site is usually not even attempted. Finally, mention must be made of the special cult sites, perhaps the most useful of all, which are confined to small areas but to which the eye and interest have not yet turned. What has been said here applies to all archaeological finds; among them, a special place must be accorded to stone monuments and the remains of walls.

It is a bitter truth that, due to the aforementioned misconception regarding Germanic masonry construction, countless examples of masonry in our homeland—which in reality owe their existence to the skill, diligence and unique building methods of our ancestors, once they began to use masonry alongside and in addition to their timber construction—are attributed by our scholars to the decisive influence or labour of foreigners, either the Franks or, if an earlier origin cannot be denied, the Romans.

The conservative German farmer, for many centuries right up to the last century, changed his way of life little, and demonstrably did not alter his building methods at all. Even the size of the houses changed only slightly up to the last century, so that when buildings were rebuilt, the existing foundation masonry could be reused. The size was mostly dictated by the natural conditions of the farmstead.

Fortunately, we have irrefutable evidence from an image on the so-called Marcus Column that our Germanic ancestors, as far back as the time of Marcus Aurelius (2nd century AD), used exactly the same half-timbered construction method as we still find today in villages in Lower Saxony. It depicts Roman soldiers setting fire to Germanic barns (round structures resembling huts). In the background, one can see part of a dwelling, which I have included as a detail, and, for comparison, a small half-timbered house from near Detmold that still stands today (Fig. 39, also Fig. 78). I also include the image of a Frisian farmhouse (Fig. 40), kindly made available to me by Prof. Herman Wirth. The same, perhaps even larger, pastureland of the ancient Frisians settled in this area supported the same livestock 1,200 years ago that had to be housed under roof in winter, just as it does today. The purpose and layout of the house, serving both people and livestock, could not be simpler and can scarcely be conceived of any other way. Its appearance and size must therefore have been roughly as they have been preserved through the centuries. The uhlebort on the roof also bears witness to the age of this type of building, which dates back to prehistoric times. With some reservations, the same can be said of the arable farming regions. Accordingly, our conception of the appearance of Germanic villages and farms must be shaped in this way.

In our further considerations of this matter, it is most appropriate to confine ourselves to Saxony, since here the year 772, with the Battle of Haaresschärse, can be taken as a factual boundary, prior to which there was no involuntary change in the Germanic character of the region. The oldest stone churches in Saxony were built around the year 800. Consequently, no one objects to this; rather, everyone takes it for granted that the Hansgrundmen, dating from the 8th century, are to be regarded as mortared. But if such a structure is to be attributed to the 8th century, then it is 'impossible'! Unwittingly, clever archaeologists, including authorities, find themselves in the wake of one of the greatest cultural-historical errors that we must recognise in this dogma. They have probably not even logically considered that, in doing so, they are making the cultural progress of an entire country dependent on the mere presence of a few missionaries—and not even that in an unrestricted sense, but on the presence of Roman-Frankish missionaries, excluding—



The introduction of the iron mortar. For the Franconian farmers have done nothing other than encourage the proper use of the mortar.

The very notion of introducing the mortar bank under such conditions and circumstances is a mockery of the mindset and character of the Lower Saxon peasant. The idea can only have arisen in urban minds, and even there only as a result of a desecration brought about by centuries of

y the Church and humanism. It is as if the

n nothing more urgent than tearing down his father's house and rebuilding it on the same foundations!

Filled with the deepest mistrust towards any scholar who, drawing on traditional views, casts doubt on Germanic cult practices, it was our intention to approach this important question, uninfluenced by any doctrinal opinion, with considerations grounded in our historical and psychological understanding of the Germanic people. The result is this: as early as the pre-Christian centuries, our ancestors used stone structures and stone walls with mortar wherever they deemed it necessary or desirable as a supplement to their timber and clay buildings. Evidence of this must be found in Germany, primarily among the oldest farmhouses, but also elsewhere, in the form of thousands of mortarised and other wall remains dating from the Germanic period.

Only now do we wish to examine, with complete candour, the reasoning that the proponents of the view that all mortars are of non-Germanic origin have put forward to support their position

. This approach, which is often neglected—first establishing clarity regarding the overall situation and then addressing the criticisms of those who claim to add very specific details to the overall picture—is particularly recommended to those who are inclined to be satisfied with mere academic brilliance.

The reasoning is as follows: all archaeological finds associated with Mörtelbach are no older than the Franconian period; therefore, the buildings themselves are no older either.

I have resolved to defer to those who have long been engaged in the specialised questions of archaeological science, because my

Fig. -i<i. Frisian farmhouse

The task of mastering the subject as a whole is just too great, and at my age I cannot concern myself with the finer points of human assessment. Although the issue at hand is by no means a specialist question, but rather a very general value judgement strongly influenced by ideological considerations, and although even experts raise the gravest doubts about it, I shall nevertheless assume it to be correct for the sake of argument.

Even if it were correct that all archaeological finds in mortar buildings are no older than the Frankish period, we have only a probability, not proof, for the conclusion drawn. Archaeological finds can only establish the minimum age of a site of use, but can never prove that a building was not constructed earlier or that a site was not put into use earlier.

It is conceded that a persistent failure to find older objects in contexts such as those at hand does, at any rate, suggest the possibility of their non-existence

suggests their absence in the ground, and that such a general absence in turn allows us to conclude that the objects were never present either in the ground or above ground. We would therefore regard a classification of the oldest mortar-built structures in Germania as ‘Frankish’ as a dating that is certainly risky, yet possible, provided that the designation ‘Frankish’ 1. were meant only in a temporal sense, not in an ethnic one, and provided that this technical term 2. possessed a certain inherent reliability. But neither of these conditions is by any means the case.

‘Frankish’ as an archaeological term is a completely unreliable, inflated, vague concept which, for the sake of the health of our archaeology (along with the term ‘Merovingian’) by a strong arm as soon as possible, to be drowned in the sea where it is deepest, so that it may be replaced by several more accurate technical terms.

Even those archaeologists who reject the ‘mortar dogma’ and other abuses find themselves compelled to work in the usual way with the technical term ‘Franconian’, which has now become established, because not everyone can be a reformer; they tend to emphasise that ‘Franconian’ is for them merely a chronological term. But that is of no use to us. The fact remains that by ‘Frankish’, both experts and the general public understand not merely a period of time, but the ethnic origin, and specifically not the origin of the Germanic Main? and Lower Franks who spoke German, but the descent from the Western Franks of Charlemagne, his predecessors and his immediate successors, who were engaged in the development of Romance culture and language and who lived partly or entirely on Germanic soil.

The archaeological term ‘Frankish’ is a careless expedient resulting from the scientifically highly dubious endeavours of the early days of archaeology, when it was observed that numerous artefacts from the Germanic lands were similar to those found beyond the Rhine on West Frankish soil. Caught up in their admiration for foreign, Romanic culture as opposed to the naturally inferior Germanic culture, those men were in no doubt whatsoever that they ought to stamp such manifestly shared culture not with the mark of a Germanic tribe, but with the West Frankish mark.

It may be that the greater and more valuable number of similar cultural artefacts found their way from Gaul to Germania, or it may have been the other way round — my concern here is not, at this stage, to make a comparative assessment of the cultural diligence of the two peoples, but rather to demonstrate the fundamental fallacy of the scientific method; — it may well be that even back then the same process took place as it does today, whereby the Germanic peoples conceived the fundamental ideas of cultural progress, whilst the more practically resourceful mixed peoples devised the practical applications and returned the products to the Germanic peoples under their own label — we do not know; it may, after all, also be the case that many objects unmistakably showing Roman-Italian influence did not reach Germania via France, but through direct Germanic-Italian relations — in any case, the general designation ‘Frankish’, in its ethnic sense, implies a superficial approach and, in its

effect, a downright monstrous intellectual cultural deprivation to the detriment of Germanic culture and to the benefit of West Frankish culture.

Even more unfortunate and nonsensical, though less significant, is the expression 'Merovingian', whereby the name of a ruling dynasty that has long since ceased to be Germanic – and which deserves to be mentioned only in the lowest cultural context – is adorned with the glory of having been a cultural mentor to the Germanic peoples. There is little hope that archaeology will soon be able to free itself from the pernicious burden of false technical terms, long-recognised factual fallacies and outdated provisional solutions. It would require an outstanding man with an iron fist. Yet the groundwork for such a reformer is not entirely lacking. I include Jakob-Friesen's *Grundfragen der Altertumswissenschaft* among these. They include admonitions such as Schuhmacher's: 'If we wish to gain a secure foundation, we require, in my opinion, a far more rigorous examination of the existing archaeological finds than has been the case hitherto.' These admonitions have generally gone unheeded. Hopefully Jakob-Friesen's more successful approach.

Apart from the mistreatment of peoples by the court of public opinion, our otherwise so commendable archaeology burdens itself far too much with an absolute chronology. For this is in constant danger of complete collapse, just as the Jewish year 5689 'since the creation of the world', which still appears in our calendars, has become a laughing stock. If both the categories of 'cultures' and 'periods' were regarded merely as provisional working hypotheses for the classification of archaeological finds, no one would object; but when the assessment of peoples' settlements, destinies and capabilities is built upon them, it is no wonder that astonishing things occur. Germanic tribes are chased from one corner of the fatherland to another, castles are tossed back and forth between 'Roman' and 'Frankish'; Altschieder was first Roman, then suddenly Frankish; the same applies to the Schultenhof near Bersenbrück, Nulle and many others. The fact that such archaeological leaps, which simply overlook half a millennium of the prehistoric era closest to us, must surely open our eyes to the fact that something is amiss here in archaeology.

A veritable Curtis craze is evident everywhere. Charlemagne built royal courts where similarities in architectural style or in the artefacts found are apparent — as if fashions and customs, both in building and in other matters, did not flow back and forth between peoples!

One could quite rightly claim that these supposed Frankish peculiarities might just as well have originated in Germania, and been adopted from the western frontiers, or even brought back from Germania several centuries earlier. Then, whilst this claim could not be refuted, the blasphemer of the sacred Frankish culture would be severely punished by the Francophiles.

A fine example of Francomania is provided by the Salz Palace in Thuringia. It is a moated castle with impressive masonry, the origins of which are recognised—Prähistor. Zeitschrift 1914, Vol.

must be regarded as pre-Carolingian for various reasons. But given the fundamental reluctance to accept such achievements found in Germania as Germanic until actual evidence to the contrary is provided—as is customarily done with other peoples— the castle is declared ‘Merovingian’, even though no such use of moated castles is known among the Merovingians! A true Francophile, however, is never at a loss for a solution: the Merovingian Franks did, after all, originate from the Saale region and, whilst they may not have continued to practise the art of moated castles, they certainly kept it in their memory!
We find this kind of aberration even among such independent thinkers as Ivie Nübel.

Fig. II. The axe find from Üohlstädt

He says: “One must approach the figure of the royal Henrys precisely where Roman influences are ruled out.” The 700 years of Germanic life and Germanic creativity that lie between them are thus not subject to any inquiry or scrutiny whatsoever!
As for the many royal estates which Charlemagne, however, required as fortresses, and which are then simply described as ‘Frankish’, Charlemagne had more than enough estates belonging to the expelled Saxon nobles and freemen at his disposal for this purpose. Even baptism, once performed, rarely offered protection if the king wished to take a court; cf. Rubeln. The number of Christians in the Carolingian period must, for reasons of contemporary history, be assumed to have been extremely small. In general, the royal courts will have been Germanic courts, where the needs and tastes of the foreigners brought about changes. We are informed of many royal decrees and regulations in the Capitularies of Charlemagne

— right down to the vegetables and apple varieties that the king, described by Einhard as a heavy eater, wished to see on his own and his courtiers' tables instead of the varieties customary in the country.

A critical examination of the cultural achievements of the Carolingian era leads to the conclusion that, from the last great devastation of the whole of Saxony in 795 (cf. Einhard, Annals 795) up to the incessant turmoil that began under Louis, there were barely 20 years of reasonably peaceful cultural development. Even in terms of duration, this was by no means sufficient to speak of a cultural upswing. If we look, as is necessary, at the internal conditions of the people, we can conversely speak only of a general cultural decline and misery during the Carolingian period, from which, however, the prosperity of the great landowners who quickly submitted and of the Roman Church forms an exception. With the greatest possible justification and in every respect, the subsequent 314 centuries deserve the name 'the Dark Ages'. The slow recovery from the destruction of the people and culture wrought by the West Franks had only progressed to such an extent by 1130 under Lothar that there was a surplus of people available for the recolonisation of the East, and that a surplus of manpower was able to participate in the ill-fated Crusade policy at the end of the 12th century.

Given the position that a section of classical studies takes on Germanic culture in the pre-Carolingian centuries, the above remarks were absolutely necessary to convey the perspective from which a structure such as the Kohlstadt ruin is to be assessed. Only then is the way clear for our investigations into the period of the pre-Christian era in which it was built, and the specific purpose it may have served.>

Archaeology will have a decisive say in answering the first question as soon as our urgent desire for a thorough search of the vast rubble is fulfilled.

The discovery of a skeleton in a seated position suggests violent destruction, but cannot reveal anything about its age. However, I am able to report on a find recovered a few weeks ago from the upper layer of stone and mortar rubble within the walls, which may, on its own, provide a reliable archaeological basis for the view that the ruins date back to the pre-Christian centuries of Germania. It is a true gem for museums: a 2-pound axe made of blistered, rusted iron, which, with its distinctive shape—lacking a cross-hole, tang and longitudinal hole—bears the unmistakable hallmark of its prehistoric age. Due to the intense fire during the burning of the building, the iron has been encased in a glaze of slag, which has contributed to its preservation. Moreover, the type has the present-day form, which, according to Ebert, already appeared towards the end of the La Tène period, that is, during the Roman Empire. The absence of a shaft hole might even suggest an even greater age. It is striking that, according to Meißner, the perforated form already present in Central and Western Europe receded into the background during the Bronze and Iron Ages. According to the information provided to me, see Hoops's Encyclopaedia of Archaeology, vol. I, pp. 147 ff. ? Ebert's Reallexikon, vol. I, p. 292.

The smithing technique used here produced a semi-finished product, and it is not yet possible to date the iron more precisely on the basis of its material properties. I present the axe in Fig.
41. It was found on 13 July 1930 by Mr Werner Düstersiek. The funds for a proper excavation are not yet available. Even now, however, we have every right and reason to seriously enquire into the Germanic purpose of this enigmatic structure.

Just as with the Christian period, so too for the pre-Christian era, a military or technical purpose for the building, or its use as an ordinary dwelling, cannot be considered. On the other hand, the idea of a ritual purpose is suggested both by the ruin's name as 'Hünnenkirche, Heidenkirche and alte Kirche' — (which was, after all, not a Christian church) — and by the building's location on the ritual Externstein line. This notion gained traction as further sanctuaries emerged from obscurity in the vicinity, and the entire area around the Lippe springs and Osning increasingly revealed itself as the sacred heartland of the shared cult sites of the allied Germanic tribes.

The most famous religious sites among the Greeks were places of divination. Divination also existed in Germania. At the time of Emperor Vitellius, in 69 AD, the seeress Veleda lived in a tower on the Lippe, to which a trirude was brought as a gift. Could the Kohlstadt ruin be this tower? The doubtful question of whether one could conceive of a trirude on the Strote at the Kohlstadt ruin held me back from accepting this assumption. Now, however, Eugen Weitz, through his studies on the cultic significance of the ship among the Germanic peoples, has found the well-founded solution to the riddle of the Kohlstadt ruin as Veleda's tower, and Wasserbach's tradition is confirmed.

I shall first present, following Tacitus, the historical accounts of the remarkable affair of the seeress and her ship. Central Germania had been free since the great defeat of the Romans under Germanicus at the Angrivarian Wall in the year 16, but the Rhine and Danube regions remained under the yoke. Then, in the year 70, the Batavian Civilis issued the call to arms for the struggle for liberation:

"From now on, we shall be permitted to inhabit both banks of the river, as our forefathers once did; just as nature has granted sunlight and the day to all mankind, so has she bestowed all the land upon the valiant as a reward. Take up again the customs and way of life of your forefathers; renounce the pleasures through which the Romans exerted greater power over their subjects than through arms. As a pure and uncorrupted people who have forgotten bondage, you shall live on equal terms amongst other peoples and rule over them."

The people of Cologne accepted the proposal and replied: "We wish to have Civilis and Veleda as arbiters, before whom the treaties are to be concluded."

The Romans, informed of the state of affairs, sought out this Veleda throughout > Germania, 2nd series, issue 4, with an announcement of the book 'Unveiled Germanic Images'. – Cf. the preface by Wajserbach in Seil's S3 of this book!

to make amends, but the envoy Lupercus, who was charged with this task, had to pay with his life.

We learn further from Tacitus: ‘The power of this maiden from the Bructeri tribe extended far and wide, thanks to an ancient custom among the Germanic peoples, according to which they regard many women as soothsayers. At that time, Veleda’s reputation also grew; for she had foretold the Germans’ success in war and the destruction of the legions ... The Germans sailed back in the captured ships and brought Veleda the Roman flagship on the River Lippe as a gift... She herself dwelt in a high tower”.

The navigability of the Lippe for the rowing boats of the ancients as far as Neuhaus is beyond doubt, and probably as far as Lippspringe. The numerous dry riverbeds that now lie across the Senne streams may be regarded as evidence of the Osning’s former greater abundance of water. It therefore stands to reason to assume limited towing on the Strote (Thune) as far as the Kohlstadt ruins, where the Tallauf begins.

However, even if this assumption is set aside, readers of Weiß’s forthcoming book will be convinced that even a land transport of the ceremonial vessel, intended for significant cultic purposes, over the short distance from Lippspringe to the tower must certainly be taken into account.

The news that the influence of the Brukterian Virgin extended far and wide to the other tribes is of the utmost importance for our entire understanding of the common sanctuaries. What could be more natural than to assume that her residence was not within the heart of her tribal territory, but in the borderlands to which the tribes had a shared claim, and to which most could reach without having to enter foreign territory?

Anyone who, for the reasons set out above, regards the Kohlstadt ruins as of Germanic origin will, on the basis of Tacitus’s clear accounts, agree with our assumption that we are dealing here with the Tower of Veleda or its immediate successor.

Among all ancient peoples, gifts and offerings presented to the deities for prophecies and in fulfilment of vows played a very significant role. We have reason to believe that this was also the case in Germanic lands. Thirty years ago, a large number of votive offerings were found at the sacred spring in Pvrmontcr.

If we imagine the seeress living high up in the tower, the doorless and windowless lower part served as the designated repository for the valuable temple treasure, which could not always be displayed openly in the courtyard. The cult vessel would have had its permanent place in this courtyard. According to Herodotus, there was a temple in Delphi in place of the tower, from which, however, valuable items also disappeared on several occasions.

Our assumption that the Veleda Tower stood at the source of the Lippe and that its ruins are still preserved in the Heidenkirche in Kohlstadt is no less well-founded than numerous accounts of ancient history that are taught without question in schools and universities. It is based on a reasonable synthesis of all relevant historical accounts, our other findings, and the facts before us.

Thus, it seems to me, a highly vivid individual picture has emerged, which rounds off the overall picture of the places of worship in the Osningmark in a convincing manner, almost as an indispensable piece.

As far as I can see, there are no objections of any significance to be raised. Those who wish to criticise will always find cause to do so in such cases. It would be desirable for pens to be sharpened for criticism only if, at the same time, the long-sought location of the Veleda Tower could be demonstrated with more convincing reasons than those presented here. For where progress is to be made, nothing is gained by mere negation.

7. The Holy Horses of Lopshorn

Among the sources of our meagre knowledge of the religion of our Germanic ancestors are the formulae of renunciation that have come down to us, as well as the prohibitions and measures taken to suppress the old faith. They provide us with reliable information about certain customs derived from the old faith that persisted tenaciously amongst the people. By contrast, we learn little or nothing about the actual beliefs and the religious practices hitherto maintained by the priesthood and the leaders of the people. These beliefs were officially abolished as soon as Christianity gained the upper hand in a region, and their retention and expression were linked to the gravest danger to life and limb, and to one's possessions. Any ritual corresponding to the old faith, however, was certainly not allowed to make itself felt and was banished into the cover of night and fog, into the corners and into secrecy. The practice, and gradually also the knowledge, of the sacred texts passed exclusively from the displaced Germanic priests to the clergy of the new faith. All traces and memories of the old were carefully eradicated from the entire land.

This situation in which the Germanic people found themselves, combined with the principle of Rome, to maintain the strictest possible silence on these matters, must be regarded as a sufficient reason why the religious life of the Germanic peoples prior to the Christian era remains shrouded in a deep, almost impenetrable darkness for us. It may also be added that in those times the old faith had already begun to fall into disuse here and there, thereby facilitating the introduction of the new and the suppression of the old, as had indeed been the case several centuries earlier in the Mediterranean countries.

Having already witnessed the destruction of all other tangible sacred sites over the course of decades, full credit must naturally also be given to the order issued by Louis the Pious, by which all existing literature was consigned to the flames—an order whose complete execution, carried out with unparalleled fanaticism, must be regarded as unquestionable, in keeping with the mindset of that era. It is the same process as that which took place 700 years later in Mexico.

Thus the complete success of the suppression is explainable by the fact that the descendants of a people rich in symbols find themselves, even regarding the symbols of their forefathers—not to mention the actual beliefs underlying them—in a state of utter helplessness and bewildered uncertainty and ignorance.

Numerous symbols of the Germanic peoples had already reached the East in the times before the emergence of Christianity, including, for example, baptism, the sprinkling of water on the newborn. But what do we know of the baptism of our Germanic ancestors? Countless other symbols were, willingly or compelled by circumstances, adopted and woven into the new faith upon the introduction of Christianity in Germania. Yet we stand before the Germanic spring festival dedicated to an Easter deity—a festival which actually gave its name to one of the three main Christian festivals and whose traces have remained indelibly etched into German folk life for a thousand years—with a shameful lack of knowledge. Indeed, there have been those—or are there still such people today?—who, as a result,

They flatly denied the entire Easter service, ruling in accordance with the principle ‘quvll non III actlee. nem in Mlliillo’. Since no written record exists of this, it never happened at all. But even if there is something, it is still not everything. Worse still, if such a document has indeed survived, well attested and bearing an indisputable

and inner conviction, if such a document is not accepted with particular joy because it brings something new, perhaps initially incomprehensible, but if, on the contrary, it is rejected precisely because of the new, incomprehensible nature and declared to be a forgery. It does not appear in the textbooks, it does not coincide with the treasure trove of knowledge held by the authorities, nor does it follow the hitherto favoured lines of thought; therefore, away with it! ‘We are searching for something lost, and when we find a fragment of it, we turn away!’

Even if the image I have before my eyes holds no great significance in itself—that is not the essential point for me; the essential point is the process

which, even today, the entrance doors to the Germanic past are still being locked. That is why I present this image.

I am also including it because, on one side, it depicts the life-giving sun and, beneath it, the horseshoe—the symbol of the horse that brings good fortune—and, on the other side, the crescent moon upon the head of the legal representative (frosta) of the moon deity, thereby showing us the equal coexistence of the two cults, a concept that has become important to us in connection with the Externsteine. I do not wish to attribute the image to one of the few legible words in the inscription, ‘Osta’. The word does, however, give rise to the assumption that this is a depiction of Ostara Vos, the Easter deity, who is of particular relevance to us here in the Oesterholz region. According to the Germanic conception of divinity, there could be no actual images of gods, no attempts to depict the deity itself. Yet the fact that people sought to visualise the representatives and revelators of divinity, at least in recent centuries, is evident to us from the ancient accounts of the Jrminsul.

The ‘piece of stone’ once found has been lost, but the account, detailed by Strack, of how it was found and lost is beyond reproach. Anyone wishing to reject the image cannot speak of fantasy, but must raise the charge of fraud.

Just as it is an undeniable fact that, in certain periods before the advent of photography, people allowed their imagination too much leeway when reproducing images, with the result that the images were subsequently declared to be forgeries, so too does our Osta image, particularly in its inscription, prove to be unfalsifiable and worthy of note for intrinsic reasons. Schaumanr? has already set this out in a detailed discussion of the image. A forger cannot simply be credited with acting unreasonably. A forger pursues a purpose, which in this case could only consist of an appreciation and interpretation of the forgery in the direction he desired. About half of the inscription consists of characters unknown to the runologist. A forger would thus have deliberately rendered what he wished to say incomprehensible. It is impossible to accept this. There remains no alternative but to acknowledge the image and to recognise in the unknown runes presented here the Saxon runes sought hitherto. The main work by Strack, Wegweiser um Eilsen. Lemgo, Meyer 1817. – The same book by Strack contains an engraving showing a rough stone relief on the church tower at Peetzen near Bückeburg, depicting a pig on the altar of Ops with two worshippers beside it. As reproducing the image, situated at a great height, proved difficult, a photograph has only recently been produced by a provincial conservator in Hanover. However weathered the stone may be, it is now clear beyond doubt that the image depicts a bishop on his bier. Since Strack derived the whole matter from the esteemed Schaumburg historian Dolle, who himself was acting in good faith—as he invites readers to view the image located very close to Bückeburg—I accepted it without hesitation. My attempt to obtain a photograph had failed. I hereby retract, as unfounded, the interpretation of the two spheres in the image—the sun and the moon—which originated with Dolle, as well as the other remarks connected with the image and its treatment. It remains a puzzling matter, as it is still hard to believe that Dolle and Strack intended to deceive; rather, it is more likely that the commissioned draughtsman, from a considerable distance, genuinely believed he was seeing a depiction of a pig sacrifice. The old Externstein carvings also show that the drawings were not made from life, but at home from memory. Perhaps a similar depiction of a sacrifice had indeed existed on or in the church. 3 Schaumann, Geschichte des niedersächsischen Voltes, Göttingen 1839.

The difficulty lies in the fact that the carver of the wooden panel, who was evidently unfamiliar with runes, was working from a stone that had likely weathered, resulting in inaccuracies being incorporated into the image.

Moreover, the end rhyme — osta, frosta — unmistakably present in the final words of the two lines would serve to correct the view that the ancients had only alliteration and not also end rhyme.

Such new insights would, in turn, influence views on the period of origin of many folk songs which have hitherto been attributed to the Christian Middle Ages, but which are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Germanic antiquity, even if they have in many cases been given a Christian veneer. If thorough research — as is entirely to be expected — yields tangible results, this would open up a very valuable source for understanding the emotional world of the ancients. Above all, it would also explain the nature of these songs, which is incompatible with the emotional world of the Middle Ages, and serve as a guide to the lost realms of our ancestors' spiritual life. The foreign elements that have found their way into the songs through alteration are often plain to see, much like in the Nibelungenlied and in some fairy tales. Tacitus reports that the Germanic peoples had sacred trees. This is plausible, as it corresponds to the nature of Germanic nature religion, which involves worshipping the deity in works of creation. In Germania, too, the practically understandable yet religiously dangerous step was then taken to restrict worship to self-chosen works of creation and then further to individual beings within them — alongside the elevation of human figures to the status of deities. The fundamental rejection of this "Idolatry" and the trend leading into the depths of superstition may well have been one of the great moments of truth through which Christianity gained an unquestionable inner ascendancy over the religions of the ancient peoples. In practice, however, neither the Roman nor the Greek Catholic Church was able to escape the dangerous popular coarsening of these beliefs.

The Synod of Liftina in the year 743 compiled an 'Inventory of Superstitions and Pagan Customs' (a catalogue of superstitious and pagan practices), from which one can indirectly infer all manner of religious beliefs. Unfortunately — though fittingly in keeping with the system — the text has been lost, and only the 30 chapter headings have survived. In a treatise entitled 'Customs of the Ancient Germans', we have a noteworthy account from the pen of a witness who is, in this instance, above reproach: a bishop's consistorial councillor, Widlak of Znaim.

The author discusses the headings and adds what else he had learnt about the subject. The heading of Canon XIII reads: 'On omens involving birds and horses, etc.' Widlak first quotes the well-known passage from Tacitus's Germania 10:

'Divination and omens through the horse are peculiar to the Germanic peoples. In certain German sacred groves and woods, white horses, unprofaned by any earthly labour, are kept at the community's expense; these, harnessed before the sacred chariots, be- ' Franz Widlal, Episcopal Consistorial Councillor, Znaim, published by M. F. Leute, undated.

'The priest walks alongside the king or the other head of the community, observing the neighing and snorting of the animals.' And no omen is considered more reliable, not only among the people, but also among the chieftains and priests. For the latter regard themselves merely as servants, whilst the former regard these animals as the gods' confidants.' Widlak continues:

"No war was waged without first consulting the sacred horses. This was done in the following manner: before the idol's sanctuary, the war spears were laid out in three rows, and in each row two spears were stuck into the ground with their points facing one another; whereupon the priest recited some solemn prayers, then led the horse, which stood ready in the forecourt, to this triple line of spears; if the horse first stepped with its right foot into one of these lines, this was taken as a sign of victory; but if it first stepped in with its left foot, this was the surest sign of defeat, and one sought to avoid the war." Among the Pomeranians, the ritual of divination was different: "Nine poles were placed on the ground at a certain distance, usually a cubit apart; the pagan priest led the black horse, magnificently attired, back and forth through this row of poles; if the order remained undisturbed, without the horse touching or dislodging a pole with its hooves, this was a good omen, but in the opposite case a bad one." There may still be some truth in this account.

The horse, primarily an attribute of Wodan, was the most distinguished offering that could be consecrated to the gods. Human sacrifices, in any case, were offered only in the rarest of instances. It is even questionable whether not everything, or almost everything, that is said about this by Roman writers and in later accounts should be relegated to the realm of misunderstanding, distortion and the deliberate denigration of the Germanic cult. The sacrifice of prisoners of war as retribution for the enemy's misdeeds and the marked signs of decline in the Germanic faith from the Viking Age onwards naturally require a completely separate assessment. (See pp. 37 and 191.)

The skulls of the sacrificed horses were nailed to the sacred trees and were otherwise regarded as sacred objects. During sacrificial feasts, the meat was the most prized dish, particularly when the sacrifices involved the funerary rites of distinguished men. Since the consumption of horse meat was mostly associated with sacrificial feasts, it is understandable that it fell into disrepute at the same time as the sacrifices when Christianity was introduced. This instilled in the German people an aversion to horse meat which persists to this day for no apparent other reason. Icelandic missionaries decreed: 'To eat horse meat is the greatest blasphemy against Christianity.'

The twins in the heavens were also regarded as horse deities, and curiously enough, Castor is still a horse's name in Westphalia. The legendary first missionaries in the Münsterland were called the Black and the White Ewald. Ehwald — Ehuwald — Hippocrates. Hengist and Horsa, too, had taken their names from holy horses.

The horse heads on the farmhouses of Lower Saxony still bear witness today to the esteem in which the horse was held by our forefathers * Cf. the election of Cyrus as king in Herodotus.

The horse naturally ranked highest among domestic animals from both an economic and military perspective: as a mount, draught animal, source of milk and source of meat. It is understandable that special arrangements were made for its careful rearing and care. The large horse markets, which would also have served as festivals in honour of Wodan, evidently played a significant role in this. We have a document from the year 1146 that fits this picture perfectly, in which Pope Eugenius once again grants the Paderborn monastery of Abdinghoff ownership of the aforementioned horse market site at Wilbasen near Blomberg (Wilbodessun). The chapel, which had been erected on the isolated site, was not demolished until 1708. What else could the monastery in Wilbasen have intended, other than that the site belonging to the holy sons of Wodan should be consecrated by the chapel?

When Tacitus states in general terms that the sacred horses were kept at the community's expense, we must conclude that, for the great communal sacrificial festivals of the tribes in the Marches, there must also have been correspondingly large-scale arrangements for their upkeep and rearing. I hope that my subsequent remarks will lead to the recognition of the Lopshorner stud farm, situated north-west of Oesterholz, as a direct continuation of a major Germanic institution for the rearing, keeping and also ritual use of horses.

Adjacent to the Oesterholzer Mark and the sacred groves of Eckelau, Lindelau, Langelau and Königslau lies the so-called Kammersenne, along with a large area of pastureland and woodland that includes the former princely stud farm of Lopshorne. The ancient history of the stud farm is lost in the mists of the early Middle Ages, from which point onwards, unless we are dealing with identifiable innovations of Frankish rule and the Church, we must turn our gaze, questioning and searching, towards Germanic antiquity. O. von Meysenbug mentions a legend which traces the Senne horse breed back to the Roman horses captured in the Battle of Varus and left riderless! Characteristic here, once again, is the tendency, even in popular tradition, to attribute a Germanic asset to foreign origins. A few lines further on, when comparing the Senne with the English thoroughbred, Meysenbug himself cannot shake the thought that the English thoroughbred is in fact the Senne horse brought there by our Saxons and bred to a high standard there. He proudly quotes the opinion of an Austrian expert on 'the characteristic features of the Oriental blood' in the Senne. At any rate, the aforementioned legend may confirm the age of Lopshorner horse breeding, which extends into the Neolithic period, and thus deep into prehistoric times.

The first documented mention, dating from 1160, refers to the untamed mares and the Is»es euuirum (stud farm)
; a matter we shall have to examine in greater detail in connection with the 'Feld Truc'. Given the general conditions of the Middle Ages, it may be assumed that horse breeding in Lopshorne had been in decline for several centuries; the loss of such an important aspect as the breeding of sacred horses must likewise have had a detrimental effect.

The northern edge of Senne, extending north-west to Stukenbrok and south-east to the

* O. von Meysenbug, in an article on the Senne stud in 'Niedersachsen', 1911, No. 1.

The so-called sacred groves near Oesterholz belonged to the herds of horses; furthermore, the forested hills stretching up to Hartrören and the Winfelde, whose distinctive layout—still evident today—and other features in themselves suggest that this must have been a major site for the rearing of horses left to grow up freely. As late as 1538, a building for the stud manager on the Winfelde is mentioned. The Donopertal valley was also included in the district.

"It remains most remarkable," writes Peez^, "that this natural stud (of the Senne), from which our ancestors, through simple means, produced truly excellent horses, suitable for peace and especially for war. Without doubt, nature played the greatest part in this. In their harsh breeding conditions, the weak horses died out and the strong ones thrived. A certain art lay in patient training, great freedom and late service . . . A fine head and fine limbs, almost exposed tendons, a curly mane and a tail often reaching to the ground distinguished them. They would not tolerate foreign horses in the fields, yet they were on good terms with the deer. No stranger could catch them . . .; they scaled the steepest mountains, roamed through the thickest forests and displayed the greatest endurance. In terms of the Chur Valley, the Senner proved to be the true German horse of good character; they were loyal and docile, and with kindness one could achieve much from them; but once spoiled and provoked, they were unyielding and would then occasionally charge at the attacker with open muzzle, flashing eyes and rearing up on their hind legs. A distinctive brand, the Lippe rose with a crown above it, served as a mark of their authenticity." Peez surmises that in the Senner horses we have before us a "temple stud from pagan times". The fact that Peez arrived at this conclusion through his studies, without knowing anything of the Oesterholz sanctuaries, serves all the more to reinforce the futility of our own lines of thought, which have reached the same conclusion.

Germanists say that this whole region is rich, indeed overflowing, with names beginning with the This is connected with horse breeding. When one considers the valleys stretching from the Senne up towards Hartrören and the Winfelde – valleys known as the 'Röschengrund' and 'Nosental', in which roses have never grown, and probably never will – even those unfamiliar with Germanic linguistics will think of the horses to which they owe their names. Our Oesterholzer Eckelau, too, is explained as a grove for the sacred horses because of its name, and another 'Lau', which we have in this area in addition to the four Oesterholzer Lauen, lies in the direction of Lopshorn and is called 'Krähenlau'; it is unlikely to have anything to do with the crows found everywhere and gathering in many places, but rather takes its name from the older mares, the 'trageir', which were kept there separately. Prof. Stuhl links a number of other names to the horse.

The most significant observation, however, regarding the connection between the major horse breeding industry in Lopshorne and the Oesterholz estate and its sanctuary relates to the strip of state-owned land—briefly mentioned earlier in the historical section and clearly visible on the cadastral maps and in our illustration—which, whilst still 800–900 metres wide in the north-west, gradually narrowing, extends towards the south-east and finally... ' A. Peez, Erlebtes und Erwandertes, Volume II, Haine und Heiligtümer, p. 66, Vienna 1899. Communicated by Arch. Huth, July 1930.

is now only 80 metres wide. Its total length is 7–8 km. The fact that it is state-owned acts as a thorn in the side of the Oesterholz communal hunting ground, which lies on either side of it, and it is astonishing that this persistent nuisance for the hunting leaseholders has persisted to this day; yet it is of immense value to our research. This corridor of land stretches from the vicinity of the Lopshorner stud farm at Eckelau and Königslan, through the Kohlstadt Heath, along the Fürstenallee

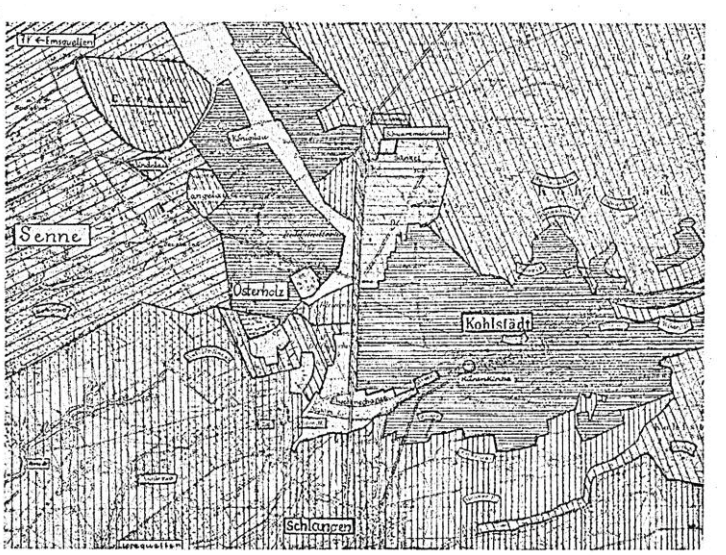


Fig. 43. The Sennnctrift. Land corridor between Lopshorn and Oesterholz

It extends right up to Wall V of the Oesterholz estate (Gierken House), where it comes to a clear end. This is the site of the Oesterholz earthwork, where a sizeable mound has been raised at the corner between Wall V and Wall IV.

It is, of course, possible – and I have observed this in two instances – that in the centuries leading up to the production of the map (around 1870), changes in neighbouring ownership occurred in relation to the corridor through purchase or exchange. But that is irrelevant; for the existence of the corridor, the accidental formation of which seems utterly impossible, tells us in any case that the boundary conditions were clear and significant enough to maintain this impractical form even in the face of attempts at adjustment.

The official name of the corridor is Senne-Trift. A ‘trift’ is always a stretch of land

or onto which livestock is driven. Whilst the south-eastern part may well have provided some grazing for sheep, sheep are not a factor for the vast majority of the heathland; rather, it was the former wild horses of the Lopshorner breeding area that could and had to feed on heather in winter. The connection between the vast heathland and the deciduous forest of the mountains and its mountain meadows was the reason why this large area of common land between Oesterholz and Donoper Teich near Detmold was so exceptionally well-suited to the keeping of wild horses.

In the ancient lands of the Marsers, Tubantes and Brukteri, wild horse breeding also continued right up to modern times: in the Emscherbruche with its ancient horse market at Krange, in the Meerfelder Bruch with its annual festival of catching the young horses, and 'in der Davert' with its indomitable Davertnickels. It is said that proper horse breeding was introduced by Charlemagne. Yet another of those shameful ideas falsely implanted into German thinking! Did the Germanic warriors ride on goats or camels when they defeated the Romans, set out to conquer the world, and fought against Charlemagne's armies at Lübbecke, Detmold and on the Süntel? Is it for this reason that Westphalia, Hanover and Brunswick have the horse in their coats of arms – because the West Franks were proud of their horse breeding? Or because Charlemagne was given some Arabian steeds by Harun al-Rashid?

Whether the sacred horses were bred in the aforementioned horse-breeding regions – which, naturally, also existed in a similar form in the other Germanic tribal territories – or whether the tribes obtained them from the Osningmark, would likely have depended on the respective relationships between the tribes and on the strength of their primarily religious bond. I assume that the religious bond was one strengthened by inviolable tradition and by mutual understanding, which they did not wish to allow to be torn apart by disputes that were, after all, subject to divine decision, and that for this reason the Sacred Mark was also entrusted to the neutral Dulgubians as guardians. But then the sacred horses must have been brought from the place where the contact between the earthly world and the heavenly world was imagined to be closest, and that must have been on the slopes of the mountain of the Aesir, on Osning.

"According to Jähns, the Dierhagen (Tierhain) stud farm in Mecklenburg, which still exists today, is said to date back to those distant centuries and still bears traces of a temple wall. Similar accounts are reported from Schwerin. Stuttgart, too, would then be the stud farm of those Alemanni who were introduced into history by Aurelius Victor as 'mirillce ex sa'o numante-'."

In my youth, the Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe in Bückeburg—just as the King of Hanover had previously done in Herrenhausen—still kept at least 8, perhaps as many as 12, white-yellow (cream-coloured) horses, called Isabelles, marvellous creatures with red eyes (like cockroaches), which, drawn in teams of four at all festive occasions, made a mighty impression through their very appearance and with their tails reaching to the ground, and could well have evoked the image of sacred horses. Despite my efforts, I have been unable to ascertain their origin.

Thus, the horses were driven from the Senns as far as Wall V of the Oesterholz estate, when they were, for instance, present at the ceremonial proceedings of those gathered in Oesterholz

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' Sind. arch. Huth, manuscript.

should be inspected or were otherwise required — that is the conclusion reached by the thoughtful observer of the corridor diagram (Fig. 13), which I reproduce here in accordance with the official documents provided to me. Despite the trend towards simplification of boundaries that can be assumed for subsequent periods, there is nowhere a truly disruptive or confusing interruption of the overall picture. It is only some 2 km south of the Lopshorner Fasanerie that the strip of land merges into the wider grounds of the Lopshorner horse stud.

This phenomenon, initially described as such on the basis of the property relations, is further corroborated by the findings on the ground, making it virtually impossible to offer any explanation other than the one we have provided here. The pasture is not an open field, but there are strong indications that it was enclosed on both sides by a fence, with or without a rampart base. Large sections of the old rampart, on which the wooden fence or fenced-in trees probably stood, can still be identified in many places, and in other spots where the cattle track borders cultivated land, the levelling of the rampart that was usually carried out at the time has at least left traces that make it possible to trace its course.

It is advisable that we scrutinise every other possible explanation of the phenomenon with the utmost rigour before accepting as established an explanation that compels us to draw such valuable conclusions about the significance of the Oesterholz Mark and the Oesterholz estate as is the case when the Lopshorner horse breeding is included within the circle of the Oesterholz sanctuaries. For we would gain strong support for the assumption that this was the central site for the great sanctuaries of the surrounding Germanic tribes. Caution is, of course, called for, as the number of such more or less well-preserved rampart remains throughout the country is very large. Almost all of them are to be regarded as boundary enclosures; the more questionable their purpose, the greater the age of the structure, especially if they no longer serve any practical purpose and if they even run alongside the current territorial boundaries. I have found this to be strikingly evident, for example, on the Rehberge near Papenhausen, in the Schötmar district, where a district boundary now runs through and where a communal mountain sanctuary of several parishes (cf. No. 1 of the illustrative examples), whose boundary ran across the hill, is to be assumed.

Unlike the various types of enclosures found around farmsteads and gardens, the ancient earthworks in the woods and fields were not originally private boundaries — there was no private ownership of farmland or woodland in Germania — but are the remaining evidence of the preference with which the ancients used to enclose their communal property*. In some regions of the Rhine, such embankments in the woods are called
'Waldfrieden'.

In East Frisia, where such small embankments serve a practical purpose due to the nature of the land, this method of enclosure has been applied to private property in the fields.

That ancient Germanic ramparts in the Senne may have been repurposed over the following 1,150 years as boundary fences, protective hedgerows against wild horses, and for other purposes—and may well have been raised or lowered in the process—is, of course, not disputed, but rather, as

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* E. v. Welus, Ortsnamen, pp. 21, 28 ff.

taken for granted. Evidence of later use does not preclude earlier existence.

The outward appearance of the embankments is often misleading, as the durability of their shape depends not only on their age but—apart from the material—most of all on the type of vegetation covering them. Young embankments may be heavily eroded and worn away, whilst ancient embankments may still retain relatively sharp contours. When assessing the ramparts, we must rely on a reasonable consideration of the contexts in which they occur. Our task is to examine in each individual case whether the effort required to construct such boundaries is not disproportionate to the benefit thereby achieved.

The assumption that the ramparts might have served defensive purposes is generally ruled out, primarily due to their arrangement and location, but also because of their narrow and variable width and height; the base is often only 1–2 m wide, and consequently the height would also have been minimal.

Apart from the fact that the embankments of the Sennetrift in question clearly display such a disproportion in some sections, this entire attempt at an explanation is ruled out by the tubular, increasingly narrowing shape of the cattle track. This shape, together with the enclosure, would have to be regarded as downright impractical and unreasonable, were it not for the fact that the very purpose of the drive—through which the animals are herded and from which they are not meant to escape—provides a perfectly satisfactory explanation.

Now a small but instructive finding comes to our aid in confirming the correctness of this explanation. About 500 m north-west of the north-western boundary of the Königslaus, a very narrow strip of state-owned land (Jnteressentenweg) branches off, gradually widening to the width of a path, which runs pointlessly for the state itself outside its fenced-in grounds. After about 500 m, where it meets municipal land, it comes to an end. 200 m further on lies Langelau, which is once again state-owned. Traces of a continuation are still visible in a few places along this intermediate stretch. This strip of land is not only marked as separate on the property map, but it was also fenced off in reality on both sides by hedgerows, which are still visible throughout on one side and in places on the other. It can hardly be anything other than a narrow cattle track along which the animals were probably driven from the main cattle track to the area behind Langelau. The situation is similar with a second strip, which also runs from the Sennetrift in the direction of Langelau, where the springs of the Schlangenei waterworks are now located.

This provides us with very clear evidence of the purpose of these ramparts; for it would be absurd to erect an enclosure for the sake of a strip merely a few metres wide. A single enclosure is sufficient both to demarcate an area and to protect it.

When considering the close connection between the Oesterholz estate and the Lopshorner horse-breeding area, we are able to supplement the conclusions drawn from the cattle track with documentary evidence. The entire Bcrgwald, once populated by wild horses, stretching from Kreuzkruge at the Fürsten

Did the avenue leading up to Winfelde, Braunental and Lopshorn form part of the Schwarzeschen estate in Oesterholz, now known as Haus Gierken? This is stated in a document from 1802 held by the current owner of Braunenbruch. According to this, during the estate settlement of 1593, this forest did not unconditionally pass into the hands of Count Simon at the same time as the estate then known as Schwarzmeiershof; rather, the owners of Braunenbruch retained their timber rights there until very recently. This forest must therefore be understood as one of the ‘woodlands’ over which Duke Ecbert’s son had authority between 826 and 853 (cf. p. 96), and which, 150 years later, fell to the monastery of Paderborn as the inheritance of the nun Oda of Geseke, only to be granted by the monastery to the Schwarz family.

Having recognised such a significant fact as the connection between the great Lopshorner horse breeding tradition and Oesterholz, we may express even greater confidence in further observations and hypotheses, which will take us a significant step further towards identifying the sacred sites in this rich and varied Germanic region.

7. Racecourse in Langelau

In the part of the Senne belonging to the Oesterholz parish, which until recently was called Kohlstädterheide before Oesterholz once again became an independent parish bearing its own name, lies an area spanning several square kilometres which must be regarded as the sacred grove of the Oesterholz Mark, because within it lies the fourfold division of Loh, bearing the four names Eckelau, Lindelau, Langelau and Königslau. Lau — Loh. Loh — sacred grove.

All four sections of woodland shown on our map, which are characterised by tree stands that are, for this area, exceptionally robust, are state-owned. The land between and around them is municipally owned and has tree stands of far poorer quality. The reason for this striking difference is likely to lie in the well-known neglect and hasty felling of the farmers' wood. Yet other state-owned forests in the area are in a poorer state. This gives the impression that the Laue is either particularly good soil, or has benefited from special soil management.

When Charlemagne and his successors distributed the estates – a process in which the Oesterholzer Loh also met its fate – they evidently proceeded on the principle that these four sections within the entire grove, three of which were also particularly well-tended, were reserved for royal ownership or otherwise for the ruling authority, whilst the remainder was bestowed upon the nobles deemed sufficiently loyal to the king, thereby becoming private and communal property. Of significance here is the name Königslau, which has survived to this day. Perhaps there were specific reasons why the king retained this particular plot for himself; perhaps all four groves were originally declared royal private property, as Charlemagne did without further ado throughout Germany with countless estates both within and outside the Marches*. In the latter case, the name would have clung only to the plot that remained in the hands of the country's supreme rulers until the very end, supplanting the earlier name. Finally, however, Königslau may also be the name that this grove already bore in pre-Christian times.

The diversity of the significance or function of the four parts of the settlement during the earlier period of their undoubtedly ritual use may also be inferred from their names, but is demonstrated with great certainty by the fact that Eckelau, Königslau and Langelau, each part in its own right, are enclosed by ancient ramparts. A glance at the map reveals that the acquisition and individual enclosure of state-owned land from municipal ownership in later times must be regarded as entirely out of the question in this manner. The encroachment of the Haustenbeck municipal area has its own particular circumstances, but these do not alter this assessment.

The enclosure of Langelau, covering a total area of 15 hectares (60 acres), is particularly robust and also well-preserved almost everywhere. One might almost be led to think of a castle or a military camp, were it not for the fact that such an assumption would, for almost every other reason, have to be regarded as impossible.

' Rübel, The Fronts in numerous places.

The possibility that this could be the rampart of any settlement is utterly ruled out by the ridge (sand dune) and the alignment of the rampart in relation to the river.
<Fig. 16), as we would, among other things, have to accept the absurdity of a deliberately created lack of visibility. In particular, it cannot be assumed that one of the houses destroyed during the Thirty Years' War o n c e stood here, both because of the complete lack of traces of former buildings,but also because, apart from the Henke farmstead (later the 'stately dairy farm') and the Schwarzmichl farm, Oesterholz had only a few smallholdings, but not a third large farmstead whose walled area would have been almost double that of the already mysteriously large Schwarzmichl

Meierhof by almost double. Moreover, the name Langelan now tells us that we are not dealing with a settlement, but with a 'Loh', that is, a sacred grove. Rather, unless there are compelling reasons to the contrary, we are left with only the question: Do we have sufficient grounds on which to infer a specific purpose for this so strictly demarcated sacred grove?
All the evidence, down to the finest details, suggests that we are looking at a large-scale arena for combat, games or racing associated with Germanic cult practices, which it was deemed necessary to set apart by means of a more substantial embankment.
During my cartographic exploration of the Lower Saxony region, and particularly whilst studying the orientation patterns, I have come to doubt whether the names containing the word 'lang' are intended merely to express the concept of length, or whether a more specific alternative meaning

— namely, a meaning somehow connected with the long fields and places of worship. For the name ‘lang’ occurs far too frequently in the vicinity of these sites and often contradicts itself, for instance when the neighbouring hills, valleys or meadows are far longer than the Langenberg, the Langental or the Langenwiese.

A unit of length known as the ‘stadium’ gave its name to the racecourses of Greece, or rather, was derived from them. Why should the concept of length not also have been applied to

racing tracks? Our ‘anlangen’ (‘to arrive’), ‘ankommen’ (‘to reach’) and ‘langen’ (‘to be sufficient’) have an unmistakable connection to the race towards the finish line. At first it was merely a tentative conjecture when I asked whether the ‘Langnorte’ might not have been the battlefields and playing fields of the ancients. It is not only probable from the scant accounts of Roman writers and from comparison with other peoples, but it is also a postulate of our rational thinking that there must have been riding and military exercises, games and competitions, and consequently also venues for them. This cannot be conceived of as absent from the life of the warlike ancient Germanic peoples.

Indeed, these games were incorporated into and interwoven with religious customs. This is clearly evident in the Olympic, Isthmian and Nemean Games of the Greeks, as well as among other Mediterranean peoples. In particular, funeral games were held at the funerals of highly esteemed individuals. Similar practices are reported from India

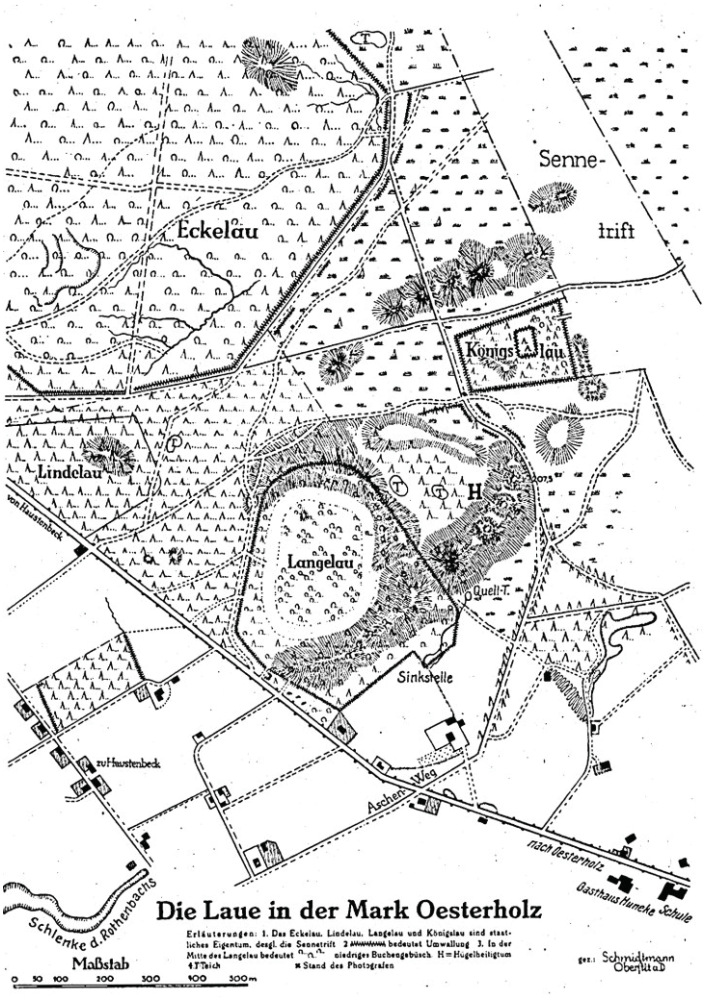


Fig. 46. Map of the Oesterholz floodplain

, and we have recently also learnt that among the Maya in Central America—whose affiliation with the Germanic tribe is hardly in doubt—the game formed part of their religious worship.

As the Yucatán researcher Leobert Mahler reports, the religious cult of the Maya also included a ball game in which the ball had to be driven with the knee through a hole in the temple wall. Gjellerup describes in *Pilgrim Kamanita* the ball game of a maiden in honour of an Indian deity.

While the whole of Rome trembled in fear of the expected Germanic invasion of Italy following the Battle of Varus, Emperor Augustus vowed to the benevolent and almighty Jupiter that he would hold solemn games to ward off the impending danger.

May we now say: those were other peoples, but the Germanic tribes in Germania did not have such organised games or venues for them? Our lamentable ignorance of the lives of our own ancestors does not in the slightest give us the right to dismiss what was self-evident to them with a shrug and to speak of the barbarism of the Germanic hordes and the savage Saxons, not even in relation to combat games and racecourses.

There is no shortage of evidence of the Germanic peoples' outstanding physical prowess, which suggests they engaged in systematic physical training. According to Caesar, during the decisive battle against Ariovistus, the Duke of the Suebi ordered a rapid charge that would have been impossible without his warriors having undergone consistent training. ‘Even if there was no military drill in the Suebi army,’ says Weber, ‘this astonishing feat presupposes a corresponding general training of the fighters.’ There are reports of skills in archery and knife-throwing, which today are only seen among street performers. “A popular Easter game, mentioned well into the Middle Ages, is the sword dance first described by Tacitus, in which young men stripped to the waist swung themselves in a circle between sharp swords. Every season offered opportunities for exercises that strengthened both body and mind. There is much to suggest that these were not merely the pursuit of a few enthusiasts, but must have been a matter of popular interest, firmly rooted in custom and tradition, even if they have not been handed down to us in written documents. Young and old must have romped about vigorously; this can be surmised from the skaldic description of the life of the Einherjar in Valhalla, which presents us with a poetically idealised depiction of the daily physical exercises of all those capable of bearing arms. Tacitus tells us of the immense power of custom among the Germanic peoples... Where, throughout the Middle Ages, outdoor competitions have survived to the present day on ancient Germanic soil, in which the team of one village or district competes against that of another, one may conclude that such a custom has its roots in Germanic antiquity.

Apart from the sword dance, which would certainly have featured at the great spring festivals dedicated to Ostera, we are interested in the passage by the Roman writer Florus, which reads: ‘King Teutobodus himself, who usually leapt over 4–6 horses...’ and in Procopius, where the Visigothic king Lotilas is mentioned: ‘Riding a magnificent horse, he skilfully performed the weapon drill in the open space. First he had his horse make the most graceful turns and pirouettes. Then, at full gallop, he threw the spear high into the air and caught it by the middle as it spun down;

Then, at full gallop, he threw the spear high into the air and caught it in mid-air as it spun down; he caught it now with his right, now with his left hand in skilful alternation, thereby displaying all his dexterity; he leapt from the horse from behind and from the front, as well as from both sides, and back up again, like one who had practised the arts of the riding arena from his youth."

In this regard, I further draw attention to what Tacitus* says of the Germanic cavalry: "The horsemen make right turns, which they execute in such a tightly knit formation that none lags behind the line." Since this observation could not have been made in the midst of war, where such neat displays do not occur, the writer's informant in Germania must have been either a spectator at drills or at public performances in the riding arena. That is what matters most to us here. Mention should also be made of the popular Germanic ball games, in which, according to a saga account, the heroes of the tale took part with grave seriousness before an assembled crowd.

In none.Among the peasantry of Germania, where there were horses and horsemen, where there were exercises for combat and competition, there was a lack of a suitable, designated 'meadow'; likewise, in no larger community where there were communal gatherings and great joint festivals, there was a lack of a combat arena that had been specifically chosen or perhaps even levelled; but where an enclosure and facilities for the spectating public had been created, there we shall still be able to recognise in many cases throughout Germania the racecourse, the site of great, cult-related, festive combat games. They have not vanished from the landscape, and the earthworks, which have not suffered any subsequent disturbance, can still be identified.

If we search for gaming and racing venues in Germania, we shall find them—perhaps after some detours. What the anthropologist Dr Hauser says regarding prehistoric research—'One finds nothing because one does not look'—applies here too.

The right to look for playgrounds and racecourses on Germanic soil is supported by the fact that, at least in one place in north-western Germania, the remains of a racecourse from prehistoric times have been unequivocally identified, namely at Stonehenge in England. This racecourse, an elongated, walled enclosure 2,700 m long and 120 m wide, lies, according to Schuchhardt, 700 m from the famous monumental sanctuary and is accessed via a branch of the ceremonial road leading from the sanctuary.

We can now place a second, no less impressive example of such a track on continental Germanic soil alongside the Stonehenge racecourse. It is our Langelau in the Oesterholzer Mark. The simultaneous presence of a hill sanctuary in its immediate vicinity reveals an unmistakable similarity between the conditions in the Oesterholzer Mark and at Stonehenge, which we shall bear in mind in the following discussion.

All things considered, the choice of the Langelau site for the construction of a racecourse, in terms of its natural location, terrain and elevation, 'Tacitus, Germania 6. Prähistorische Zeitschrift II. Issue IV, 1911, p. 325.

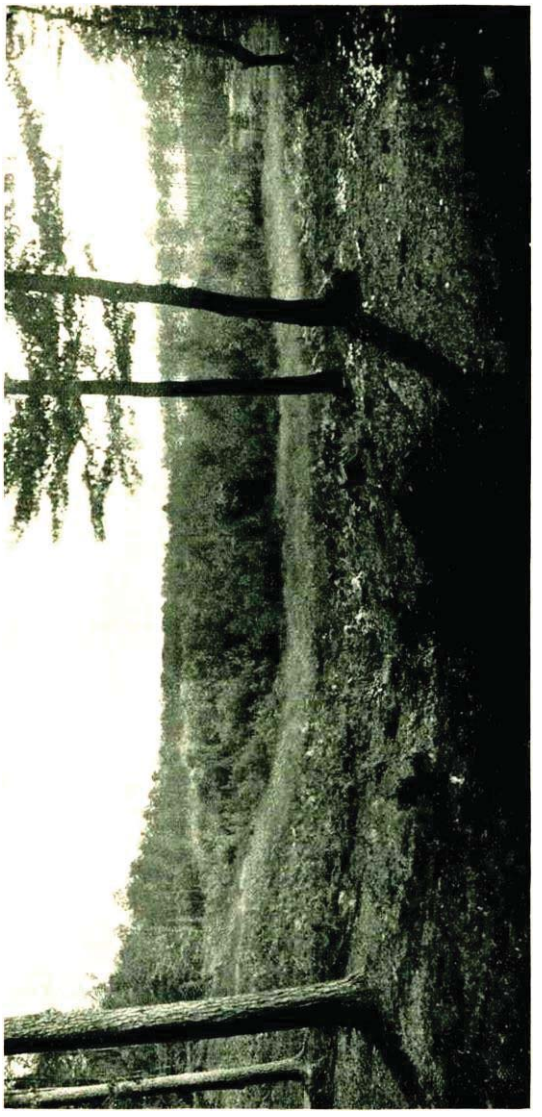


Fig. 7. The battle plan at Langclan

In terms of size and shape, one might call it ideal. Langelau corresponds in every respect to the concept of such a site as we have formed in our minds based on the ancient stadium, the model for the modern arena and sports ground. In contrast, the excessively elongated, narrow Stonehenge site seems to have been intended solely for the contests and games of the Neiter and chariots. The shape of the track at Langelau is an ellipse; the dimensions — 500 m by 300 m for the walled enclosure and 400 m by 230 m for the inner flat area — provide space for the largest events without becoming too vast to take in, as is the case at Stonehenge in the longitudinal direction.

With admirable skill and good fortune, a site has been chosen that is enclosed on more than N sides by a ring of hills. This ring of hills, at an average height of 13 metres above ground level, provides the ideal elevation for a viewing platform designed to accommodate a vast crowd of spectators. A clear view is possible from every vantage point.

In the direction of Oesterholz – that is, towards the side of the road – an area for the crowd to move about has been incorporated into the rampart beyond the hill. In contrast, the slightly higher section of the hill to the north, where we may assume the viewing platform for the princes and leaders of the people was situated, is so close to the rampart that what was happening behind it could be easily observed. Here, where there is a sizeable pond with a diameter of 10 metres serving as a watering place, the Sattelplatz is likely to have been situated. The horses from the stud farm in the Senne first arrived here via the walled cattle track discussed in the previous chapter. The other impressive strip of land, mostly 23 metres wide, which still leads up to 300 metres from the alpine pasture to Langelau, would have served the same purpose.

A 100-metre-long water-drawing point, accessible from both sides, was planned for the crowd; its clever layout can be seen on our sketch map. Enclosed by a ring of hills, a central space is framed, presenting the eye with a flat expanse. A hunter’s platform provides a view over the entire flat central area, currently still covered by dense, low beech scrub. So far, only a mound resembling a megalithic tomb, some 80 cm high, has been noted here; just as there is such a mound within the inner circle at Stonehenge, which Schuchhardt considers to be a megalithic tomb, but which must more likely be regarded as a ‘meta’—a place for referees or the like—without thereby ruling out the possibility of urns being buried there.

All around the flat area, that is, across the entire spectator area, a tall forest now rises proudly, consisting of a mixture of beech, pine and oak trees, most of which are strikingly well-grown.

The inner area, overgrown with beech scrub, does not, however, extend quite as far as the hill, but leaves a strip 20 to 25 metres wide running all the way round between itself and the base of the hill: the racecourse track! Here and there, the vegetation has encroached, either in the past or now, but our photograph (Fig. 47), which we recommend viewing carefully, shows the current state of affairs. For those who know how to read maps, our map of the Lauen (Fig. 46) will be even more impressive.

The fact that the current woodland of Langelau presents the observer with such a striking resemblance to a racecourse, indeed even to the track itself, is almost astonishing. In any case, the marvellous natural panorama before us is extremely conducive to answering our question, so much so that we begin to wonder whether there might be reasons for this to be found precisely in the site's former, still lingering use. It is, after all, not impossible that the very long-term use of an original heathland by humans may have exerted an influence on the dual nature of the soil and its suitability for tree growth. The Lippe District Forestry Officer and the responsible Head Forester were also of this opinion.

Small-scale soil investigations at 13 locations across the inner area, and particularly along its edges, have revealed a remarkable fact. Whilst in the Senne the 'Ortstein'—formed by plant acids—is usually found beneath the sandy topsoil (humus), at Langelau we find no Ortstein, but instead immediately encounter loamy topsoil and yellow sand. It must therefore be concluded that the heathland vegetation has been absent here for long periods.

Furthermore, a horizontal section driven vertically into the hill reveals that the original dune has been overlaid twice. This can be explained either by sand drifts or by artificial filling. However, the hills formed by drifting sand have a steeper slope on the side facing away from the wind, whereas here the opposite is true. Furthermore, the layers are not uniformly coloured.

Since the Nundhügel is characterised not only by its strikingly practical design as a viewing platform but also by the healthy growth of deciduous trees, the excavation findings mentioned suggest that human intervention, using the soil cleared from the centre for levelling purposes, assisted the hill's natural formation. Some pottery shards found on the surface may date from the pre-Carolingian period; worn flint fragments bear witness to very ancient human use of the site, dating back at least to the Bronze Age.

Our conjecture that human hands assisted nature in creating a site suitable for the needs of a combat arena can be confirmed through more extensive excavations. With the necessary effort, further significant finds are likely to follow. But as long as there is little prospect of such work being undertaken, we must content ourselves with the same evidence that sufficed at Stonehenge to secure general recognition of the prehistoric racecourse; for there, too, direct archaeological evidence is entirely lacking.

At Stonehenge, recognition of the racecourse rests exclusively: 1. on the existence of the enclosure, 2. on the proximity of the monumental sanctuary and its processional way, from which a branch led to the racecourse, as well as the proximity of megalithic tombs, 3. on the suitability of the terrain for a racecourse.

The imposing rampart of Langelau, which attracts such particular attention, has already been discussed above and in the general overview of ramparts in

Oesterholzer Mark in the previous chapter. Our illustration (Fig. 44), which depicts the average, almost undisturbed condition of the rampart, shows every observer that this can no longer be regarded as a mere pasture boundary or property line. According to the judgement of Dr Häberlin of Wyk auf Föhr, the strength and nature of the rampart are roughly the same as those of the racecourse rampart at Stonehenge.

Of even greater importance is the fact that a close connection with a monumental sanctuary — perhaps the 'krumm Ostarae vsas orops Oesterholz' — can also be demonstrated at Langelau. The next chapter will be devoted to this monumental earthwork of a cultic nature, which is situated some 100 m away from the aforementioned pond and the section of the Langelau assumed to be the Fürstentriblln e. In this context, the nature of the access route to these ceremonial sites as a branch off the Oesterholzer Feststraße will also be discussed once again.

As for the proximity of megalithic tombs, the area around Langelau, like Stonehenge, is to be regarded as a favoured site for prehistoric burial grounds. The topographical map shows two megalithic tombs 150 metres west of Langelau, one of which appears in reality to be a particularly large and impressive burial mound; but the surveyors have failed to mark a whole number of mounds on the map which cannot escape the keen eye. Pastor Schelpf told me that the late forester Wagener of Langenholzhausen, who surveyed the Oesterholzer Loh in the middle of the last century, as a great lover of antiquities, had sometimes spoken with him about what might be found there. He is said to have handed over the results of his excavations to the Detmold Museum, where, unfortunately, the finds can no longer be identified without local context. Wagener cannot have failed to notice the earthwork either, and perhaps it was he who searched for urns within it. I assume that his report on the earthwork met with no interest or attention from his contemporaries, as seems to have often been the case.

3. The suitability of the Langelau site as a battlefield, playing field and racecourse is evident from my description above. In this respect, Langelau is certainly even more impressive than Stonehenge, at least as far as one can judge from Schuchhardt's report on the racecourses. For comparison, I shall set out the key points from it. He writes:

"Just 14 miles north of Stonehenge lies an enclosure that stretches very long and very narrow, running straight from east to west. It is around 9,000 feet (2,700 m) long, with a width of 350 feet throughout, slightly less at the ends. The enclosure consists of a bank with a ditch in front, exactly in the same eroded form and dimensions as the circular enclosure at Stonehenge. I visited this site on 16 September 1910. A few hundred metres to the north-west of it lies a second one of similar shape, but much smaller; only its western part remains, measuring 1200" in length and 150" in width; I did not visit this site.

Both earthworks are referred to by the English as 'cursur' and are regarded as racecourses belonging to Stonehenge. As far as I know, only Fergusson has departed from this view, offering the curious explanation that the enclosure was intended to mark the battlefield from which the Saxons under Hengist had defeated the Britons, for whose chieftains Stonehenge was then erected as a tomb.

I approached this site with great scepticism, scrutinised its rampart and ditch with a critical eye, and considered every conceivable possibility as to when and for what purpose it might have been created,

but I have come to no other conclusion than the English have always held. Ferguson's view is not open to debate. The shape of the enclosure and the choice of site speak so decisively in favour of a racecourse that no other purpose can be inferred. One might only ask whether it might not be a racecourse of more recent times. This is contradicted, however, by the ancient character of the rampart and ditch, the uniformity of the entire culture of Stonehenge, and also by the fact that a site virtually free of burial mounds from the
.cursur'. Only to the west, at one end, are there two small mounds which may have formed later, as well as those along the outer enclosure of Stonehenge. Otherwise, however, given the dense concentration of burial mounds, it is remarkable that such a long stretch should remain free of mounds if the 'curru' were to have been constructed later than these mounds. The site is, moreover, excellently chosen. The two ends of the track lie on high ground at 360 feet, whilst the centre runs through a gentle slope that descends to below 300 feet. Spectators can thus survey the entire length of the track from any vantage point, and the racers had the opportunity to demonstrate their full skill as they ascended and descended.

So I really can't help but regard these circuits as actual race tracks. -

Both chariot and horse races are considered here. Cavalry and chariots are attested in the north by Bronze Age stone carvings in Bohuslän and Scania. Indeed, the chariot appears here in a form that is even a step ahead of the oldest examples handed down in the south and east.

The racecourse at Stonehenge, with its rugged, vast expanse, is certainly no replica of a Greek stadium; yet even in Homer, the chariot race at Patroclus's grave still takes place over a very wide area. At the start, Achilles points out the finish line in the distance, which the chariots are to circle, and sends Phoenix there to observe the race. Then the race begins... but the spectators seated at the starting point still cannot tell which horses are in the lead, and Ajax and Idomeneus argue fiercely about it. Thus, at Stonehenge too, with the princely burial complex and the chariot races as funeral games, a thoroughly Homeric scene unfolds before us—centuries before the Homeric era...

The processional avenue, flanked by a rampart and ditch similar to, though somewhat weaker than, the outer enclosure of Stonehenge, ends today in a straight line 1500" from the 'astronomical stone'; beyond that, its course is obscured. However, there is reliable evidence that it originally continued in a straight line for 1,800 feet from the 'astronomical stone' and then forked in the hollow...

'The northern branch seems undoubtedly to lead to the racecourse, even though its traces become very faint immediately after the fork; it appears to have meandered in an arc towards the racecourse, but I could not make out that it was heading towards any specific opening in that structure.'

A comparison shows that the racecourse at Langelau is, by our standards, more practically laid out than that Homeric racecourse or the one at Stonehenge.

In such comparisons, however, the question of when they were built is of the utmost importance. The structures at Stonehenge are attributed to the Bronze Age. We have sufficient grounds to attribute the surrounding megalithic tombs to the Bronze Age; but in my opinion, this should not prevent us from assuming that the Lange-Laubahn, just like the entire circle of sanctuaries in the Oesterholzer Mark, was still in use in the period prior to the subjugation of the Saxons by Charlemagne. This is attested to by certain shards from that period identified by Müller-Brauel, whilst the worked flint fragments prove that the site was already in use during the Stone and Bronze Ages. The track will ultimately have been adapted to meet the needs of the late Germanic centuries. This leads me to make a fundamental observation.

Nothing would alter this view even if, for example, finds from the Early Iron Age, the Bronze Age or the Stone Age were made in or near Langelau, but none from later periods. Just as finds

from later periods never rule out the use of a site in earlier times, neither should one close one's eyes to later use merely because of older finds. It is certainly reasonable to expect more finds from the most recent periods of use than from the older ones, but the reverse may also be the case. Archaeological discovery is such an uncertain business—uncertain not only because of the capricious luck of the finder—that a science which sought to make exclusive chronological determinations based solely on finds made with a spade stands on very shaky ground, constantly leading to revisions.

Yet dating is a matter for later consideration and, in this respect, unimportant, inasmuch as Langelau must first be recognised as a prehistoric, i.e. dating back to the Germanic Dark Ages, combat-and-game arena and included among the Oesterholz sanctuaries, regardless of the time of its origin.

We may expect our specialist archaeologists to assess my hypothesis of a prehistoric Langelau alignment using precisely the same objective criteria and evidence by which the Stonehenge alignment was assessed and subsequently recognised.

My interpretation of the word 'lang' in Langelau has been confirmed by Germanic linguists. Director of Studies Erbt writes: 'lang, attested as a Germanic adjective in the name of the Langobards, is related to the Latin longus and the Celtic longos (in Langovicium). A distinction must be made between this *lang and another root found in Middle High German *lingen — to succeed, to move forward, to make progress — and in Old High German *lungarc — fast. The Indo-European root *lengh has yielded the Greek *lengos — agile, nimble, fast — and the Old Indian *langh — to jump, to move forward. To the same root belong langen — to reach a goal, to reach for something (so 'determination' is the basic meaning!), to arrive, to attain, to reach, to demand (to ask for). Langelau thus means 'goal-race grove'."

Among the letters which, based on practical investigation of the local landscape, agreed with my interpretation of 'Lang', the most striking came from Hagen in Westphalia, from Mr Kottmann, and prompted a visit to the site. It is a level mountain ridge with a magnificent view and is called 'Jm langen Loh'. The cultic significance of the surroundings is attested to by numerous field names: Hilge Land, Rosengarten, Ascheroth, Donnerkuhle, Hilge Eike.

It is astonishing that this place has been a riding arena since time immemorial and has remained so to this day, when it has also been converted into a sports ground for the youth of Hagen. On the site so wisely chosen by the ancient Sigambri, I saw men and women riding their horses and the young people engaged in combat games.

A case that seems to fit this description is a conspicuously walled-in forest clearing in the Donoper Forest near the Pivitsheide, which also features a spectator stand along one side and a referee's mound within. This site demonstrates its suitability by the fact that it has recently been selected and prepared as a sports ground for the local youth clubs!

If the old custom of folk games (including shooting festivals and the like) persists at any old public site, then the question should be asked whether it

was not already designated for this purpose in Germanic times. If these were once major festivals with a cultic character, then traces of special preparations made to the site for this purpose may still be found.

Schuchhardt says: ‘Palaeolithic art came as a great surprise to archaeologists’, and he expects even more surprises. He dismissed my Oesierholz surprise – which came from a direction he hadn’t anticipated – out of hand on the grounds of astronomy. But I would be delighted if we could see eye to eye on Langelau. That is likely to depend on the recognition of the hill sanctuary between Langelau and Königslau, be it as a site of ancestor worship, as a site of divine worship, or as both at once; I invite you to visit it in its tranquil, secluded solitude in the following chapter.

Our sketch by Mr O. Binz, the panoramic photograph of the racecourse grounds by Mr Düstersiek – which, due to the difficulties of the terrain, had to be compiled from two separate shots and made to appear as a single image – and the map by Lieutenant Colonel Schmidtmann may serve as a guide for your visit. An indescribable tranquillity hangs over the landscape, which, one hopes, a sensible rejection will keep the alarmingly encroaching steam plough at bay. Anyone wishing to visit the site would do best to turn north off the main road 100 paces west of the Hunecke inn in Oesterholz.

[1] Schuchhardt, Mteuropa, 1818, p. 24.

10. Hill sanctuary between the Lauen

(l'anuin Ostaras Usae proper Osstsrbolr?)

/^The ancient inhabitants of England and Brittany had a particular fondness for erecting massive stone blocks at their ^/places of worship, whether for ancestral rites or for the worship of the gods. In north-western Germania too, particularly where there was an abundance of boulders, there is no shortage of examples of this kind. Anyone who has ever seen the mighty stone settings of the Glaner Braut, the Visbecker Braut, the Visbecker Bräutigam, or one of the massive megalithic tombs near Osnabrück, the Lüneburg Heath, etc., will have been deeply impressed by them.

Any doubt regarding the grand scale of our ancestors' ambition and their great technical skill is dispelled by the megalithic tombs.

Our ancestors? If there is any evidence in the field of archaeology that goes beyond the material aspects of a find, then the study of prehistoric tombs entitles us to assert the activity of the population in north-western Germany. Müller-Brauel says: 'We can clearly see how the forms of the graves continue to develop naturally of their own accord — whoever wishes to see this must see it.' And Schuchhardt: 'As regards north-western Germany, no one doubts that Wittekind's Saxons are still the unadulterated descendants of the Stone Age people who built the great megalithic tombs.'

But where boulders were lacking, the tendency in Germania was far more towards the construction of wooden buildings and earthworks. The wooden structures were easily and completely destroyed. As for the ritual stone structures, even the foundation stones were to be dug up from the ground and scattered. We shall discuss this in greater detail in our chapter on the location of mountain sanctuaries.

As for the earthworks, of which Willy Pastor provides us with interesting examples in his *Altgermanische Monumentalkunst*, every effort was certainly made to destroy them as well. But the labour required for this was probably not always expended, because people were reluctant to disturb the graves which our ancestors had so often embedded within the sacred earthworks. It is probably to this very reluctance that we owe the partial preservation of the large boulder settings in the heathland region of north-western Germany.

Our thoughts must turn in the same direction when we consider that a ritual earthwork, still clearly visible in the Oesterholzer Mark, has been preserved which undoubtedly also served the cult of the ancestors (Fig. 50). It is therefore likely that the few who had ever glimpsed it in its isolation counted it among the groups of megalithic tombs with some wonder.

A comparison with all other groups of megalithic tombs reveals notable differences. The effort and care expended on the ceremonial arrangement of the whole are unmistakable. Distinctive features in the shape of the mounds are also present. — Müller-Brauel in the Weserzeitung 1930 No. 489. — Schuchhardt, Alteuropa, p. 341, Strasbourg and Berlin, Trübner 1919. — Willy Pastor, Germanic Monumental Art, Eckardt, Leipzig, 1910.

are present. Added to this is a striking addition, and finally, the entire context, with its devotion, points to circumstances that lead us to assume that we are dealing here not only with an outstanding burial sanctuary, but also with a place of worship of particular significance for the worship of the gods. This must then raise the question of whether this is indeed the ‘l'-niiim lni-une bolz.’ of which a memory had still survived in the 17th century.

Almost immediately adjoining the rampart of Langelan, and less than 100 m behind the most imposing section of the hill surrounding the battlefield,

Abb. 18. Der mittlere Kegel

a hill ridge, some 100 m long and curving slightly to the north-west, runs at roughly a right angle to the Langelau embankment; within the curve of this ridge, some 100 m from the foot of the hill, lies another Senneteich, not far from the pond already mentioned at the Langelau embankment. See our map of the Laue in the Mark Oesterholz.

The height of the ridge above the surrounding terrain is about 12 m. But on its narrow crest there rise, at somewhat uneven distances from one another but at the same height of 1.5–2 m, three cones of considerable megalithic tomb size. They differ from other megalithic tombs in their steeper angle of accumulation, their conical shape—that is, the absence of the usual form of a truncated sphere— and, notably, by the size and nature of a sharp flattened surface 7 m in diameter, which cannot be explained by disturbances caused by the excavation work (which undoubtedly took place). They present the appearance of pyres, for which the flattened surface provided the appropriate, convenient space.

A fourth, slightly higher and more extensive elevation above the ridge, in the preserved or constructed form of a spherical segment, which, as our map shows, is situated at a somewhat greater distance at the south-western end of the ridge, initially near the Langelau Wall, certainly also forms part of the system and will have held particular significance alongside the three cones.

Whether the uniformly increasing difference in distance from north-east to south-west is intentional is also open to conjecture. In any case, to my knowledge, such a stately, symmetrical, solemn appearance is nowhere to be found, even remotely, in ordinary groups of megalithic tombs.

The material used to build up at least two of the three cones appears to have been taken not only from the sandy soil of the mound, but also from the northern end of the mound, which has been excavated down to the level of the surrounding terrain. This work has brought out even more clearly our hill, with the four elevations on its ridge, as a distinct, coherent whole, thereby completely separating it from its flatter continuation towards Nordosien. At this point, the very impressive access road to the sanctuary has been left open to a width of 12 m and continues on to the adjoining ‘Königslau’. That the cut through the hill did not arise in the same way as sunken paths, but is the result of human labour and design, can be inferred from the course of the lines at this point. The assumption that soil from this cutting was carried up the hill to form the next two cones is based on the fact that these cones display a flora very different from the uniform heather vegetation covering the entire hill, namely the same flora found further down in the wide, scarcely used road.

Our sketch, in which individual obstructing trees have been omitted, gives an impression of the view that presents itself to us, whereas the photographer was unable to choose a vantage point from which to capture the whole scene due to the presence of the trees. The image is sufficient to recognise the difference between this earthwork and a mere group of megalithic tombs, and that what we have here is a monumental arrangement which was neither necessary nor customary for burial mounds that gradually adjoin one another, but which must have been created for a different purpose, taking other factors into account.

Of the utmost importance in clarifying the whole situation is the realisation that ancestor worship and the worship of the gods were most intimately intertwined in the ancient world. All graves were sacred and lifted thoughts towards the deity. All sites consecrated to the worship of the gods were at the same time preferred sites for the burial of the deceased. The pyramids, no less than Stonehenge, served both aspects of the religious life of the ancients. The Christian Church, too, was by no means able to escape the power of this custom. Not only were burials carried out at the church, but the churches themselves became burial sites. Just as no one may deny a church its character as a place of worship because burials take place within it, so it is equally erroneous to seek to deny a Germanic site its primary character as a place of worship simply because it was also a burial site. The indications of a place of worship must not, if at all possible, be set aside

should not be dismissed, but must, on the contrary, be given the utmost consideration, as they are the most likely scenario.

Perhaps our entire hill sanctuary is dotted with urn graves. However, I have no intention whatsoever of advocating an excavation of this hill, which has a surface area of more than 2 × 250 × 15, equalling 7,500 square metres, because the results would in no way yield any significant new insights into the important questions at hand. If we find graves, our already absolute certainty will merely be reinforced; for no one will doubt the existence of graves. If we find none, the idea that the worship of the gods was the primary purpose of this impressive earthwork comes all the more to the fore. The difference from other groups of burial mounds and the significant connection with Langelau—recognised as a racecourse—is there either way, just as at Stonehenge. Small-scale trial excavations are entirely futile; a large-scale excavation capable of yielding any noteworthy results would simultaneously entail a significant disturbance of the area, which is now wonderfully uniformly overgrown with heather, and of what lies beneath it; we therefore leave it to the individual to decide whether they wish to suspect more or fewer graves beneath this peaceful covering.

Of considerable importance for the assessment of our hilltop sanctuary is a comparison with the most significant earthworks of this kind in Sweden, the three ‘King’s’ or ‘thing-site’ mounds in Old Uppsala. In the past, Swedish archaeologists also regarded them as mere megalithic tombs. However, as only one grave was found in each case—not covered with earth but merely embedded in the mounded earth—archaeology has now declared this massive earthwork to be a sanctuary for the worship of the gods (Fig. 49). This insight complements the research findings of Nermann from 1913 and 1917.

Altupsala, t o o , although its name refers to three mounds, has a fourth that forms part of the system, as it is also man-made; it is smaller than the other three. Our line drawing is better suited to conveying the impression than the photograph I included in the first edition. The similarity between the concept underlying the Swedish site and our Oesterholz hill sanctuary is immediately apparent.

A 5-hectometre-long road leading up from the south and south-west, which has borne the name ‘Aschenweg’ since time immemorial, has a direct connection to the hilltop sanctuary and the numerous megalithic tombs situated behind Königslau and in front of Kreuzkruge: it was along this path that the ashes of the great figures from the Marser region were carried in a solemn procession to the sanctuary between Langelau and Königslau and to the burial sites. The other proposed interpretations are entirely unsatisfactory, but for a path leading into such an outstanding burial area during the more than two-thousand-year era of cremation, the above interpretation is the most obvious and simplest. It presupposes that the solemn cremation of the body with the selected woods, of which Tacitus tells us, took place in the deceased’s home town. We recall here the ancient Christian custom, not yet universally abandoned even in our own time, of carrying the coffin of the deceased around the

to pass by the church, or at least to pass in front of it. We assume that the ancients, guided by the same sentiment, carried the ashes of the deceased past the Three-Hilled Sanctuary—which held particular sanctity for them—unless they were compelled, due to the excessive distance of the burial site, to make do with a circuit around one of the smaller places of worship.

Of considerable significance for the invalidity of our interpretation of the Aschenweg and the custom presumed here is the latest finding by W. Düstersiek, that the Aschenweg, which continues from the Three-Hill Sanctuary in the direction of the Kreuzkrug, retains the same considerable width of 12–14 m, is clearly recognisable by the remains of the rampart, crosses the Feststraße south of the Kreuzkrug, continues for a further 700 m to a large megalithic burial mound, and ends there. No continuation was found, not even of normal path width, so that here the

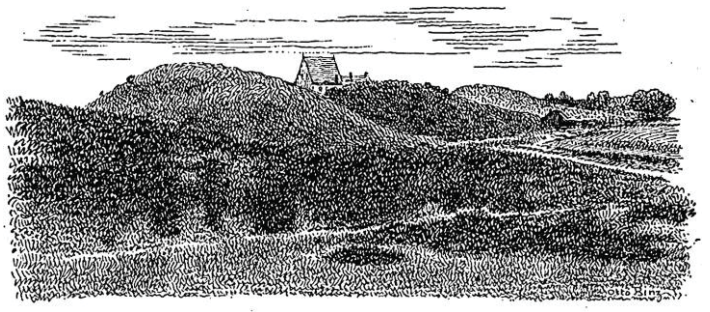


Fig. 49. Altupsala

purpose and significance of the Aschenweg, namely to lead to the burial site, becomes unmistakably apparent.

The conical shape of the large grave at the end of the path suggests that it also served as a ritual hearth. We must assume this to be the case wherever a flat area of at least 5–6 metres in diameter, not caused by excavation disturbances, is found on the burial mounds.

At the Döllingen sacred sites in Oldenburg, too, there is an ‘Aschenbeck’ and an ‘Aschenstedt’ alongside the ‘court site’ between groups of megalithic tombs, the Glaner Braut and the ‘Langewand’.

The Aschenweg, which now comes to an abrupt end at the Westphalian border but must have continued further south-west and would have connected to the major modern toll road of the military training area, forms the 3-km-long boundary between the bailiwick of Schlangen and the municipality of Haustenbeck, whose territory—whether it once belonged to the fiscal district of Oesterholz—Schlangen, nor must it have formed the easternmost territory of the ‘Ultimi Ilrulctsrorum’, if we take Tacitus’s description of the locality literally. Thus, the Aschenweg simultaneously takes on the significance of a boundary ridge, along which the Marsers reached the Loh—which also belonged to them—with its

sites, without entering territory that did not belong to them. The path still retains a solemn appearance in places, with tall, in some cases double, rows of fir trees lining embankments that are still partially visible, which also appear to have accompanied it on both sides throughout.

We must also turn our attention to the access routes to the sanctuaries. Short or long stretches of pine avenues or double rows of pines, which look rather out of place in the simple heathland and seem to serve no practical purpose in the current context, can be found along all the paths that are still recognisable as access routes to the sanctuary: firstly between the sanctuary and the crossroads barely 100 metres away, to which the Aschenweg leads; then from this very point in a northerly direction; and furthermore along several sections of the path leading from the sanctuary to the grand ceremonial avenue (Fürstenallee), where it joins it at the Oesterholz estate.

Fig. 50. Three-mound sanctuary

The fact that such fragmented stretches, with their newer and most recent pine growth, can still be found at all and may be regarded by us as a reminder of conditions from a time 1,000 years ago has a sound forestry-based explanation. Very often, beneath the denser vegetation, the rampart can still be discerned; its former embankment provided the conditions for such stately growth amidst the barren moorland. Even where no trace of the rampart remains, it can be safely assumed that it once stood there.

The access road leading to the sanctuaries from Oesterholz is of particular interest because it is a branch of the main ceremonial avenue (Fürstenallee). The former earthworks on either side of it are still clearly visible over several stretches, some of which are quite long. At Stonehenge, the path to the Nennbahn is also a branch of the ceremonial avenue there. At the junction near Oesterholz, another old road branches off the ceremonial avenue in a north-easterly direction; it leads to the old main site in the forest for the management of wild boar (the former boar breeding ground?) and then on to the Externsteine.

Let us return to the hill sanctuary! An elderly local resident first led me into its deep, solitary heathland, at my request, to...

to show me the spot where the young people of the heath dwellers—once quite scattered, now somewhat more numerous in this area—were in the habit of lighting their Easter bonfires. In a fairly large clearing, the mound with its four mounds—impressive even at first glance—lay before me. He pointed to the middle of the three uniform cones. “That’s the spot!” As far as he could remember, none of the numerous hills in the surrounding area had ever been chosen instead.

There are many Easter bonfire sites across the country, varied and of little significance. But in this context, the immeasurable value inherent in such a tradition must not be overlooked. The custom may be a legacy of the ancient Saxons, who, as the last to do so — perhaps many decades after the introduction of Christianity — thought less of the powers of the new faith as their pyre flared up here, and more of what their grandfather had told them of the spring deity, the genderless Ostara.

Of course, even without that, the young people gathering for the Easter bonfire in this corner of Sennewinkel could not have chosen a more beautiful spot. Standing on the Easter Hill, one has behind them the stately pines and beeches of the Langelau; to the side, the no less magnificent Königslau high forest, which is doubly impressive in this heathland region; and before them lies the shimmering Kammersenne and the Teutoburg Forest, stretching out for miles and rising steeply, in the bright, colourful spring hues of the mixed woodland. And the whole scene is bathed in the deep blue hue we are accustomed to seeing above the Senne.

Taking into account all the evidence and circumstances gathered here, it seems reasonable and well-founded to assume that this ‘undoubtedly prehistoric sanctuary’ was a major place of worship in the Mark Oesterholz region, perhaps corresponding to the ‘I?anum Oestarao veno vrope Oestorbow’ mentioned in 17th-century records. The three cones, erected at regular intervals along the ridge of the hill, are then to be regarded primarily as pyres upon which, during the highest joint festival of the neighbouring tribes, the sacred fires blazed in honour of the gods — perhaps the three Ebengötter Wodan, Thumar and Sahsnot (Fro, Ostara), the Old Saxon oath-taking formula. Beside them was the indispensable water for the sacrifices, and in the immediately adjacent Langelau, the much-coveted spectacle of games and battles unfolded before the eyes of the festive crowd during the combat games, also in honour of the gods and the fallen heroes. Battles were fought on foot, in chariots and on the Nossen, which were led through the drive at Eckelau to the racecourse.

No sensible person would regard the occasional misstep or error as grounds for rejecting the whole. It can only be a tentative foray into the realm of our ancestors’ intellectual creativity—a realm that has become alien to us and is virtually unknown—a realm where the proper bridges and paths have been destroyed and where the signposts and landmarks have, where possible, been obliterated.

But I believe we are on the right track. For it seems to me beyond all doubt that research in the Oesterholzer Mark and the associated regions of the Lippe springs, extending as far as the Extern-sieinen towards Lopshorn and the Teutoburg, must be regarded as the cultural centre of the great Germanic tribes converging here, and that a field of extraordinary fruitfulness is opening up here for research.

Eckelau, Linde lau, Königslau

Before the groves of the Oesterholzer Mark have aroused sufficient public interest for some much-needed excavations to be carried out by those qualified to do so—among whom I do not count myself—our understanding of their significance must rely on the findings that have come to light and on their names, in the context of the overall significance of the Oesterholzer Mark. I do not wish to pass over the three other groves—Eckelau, Lindelau and Königslau—without at least attempting to interpret them.

The immense size of the Eckelau, covering one square kilometre — 400 acres — its complete enclosure, its irrigation and its name lead to its interpretation as a foal pasture, precisely because it is a ‘Lau’, i.e. the area designated for the young horses.

A tremendous amount of work went into its embankments, although the ramparts, which were intended to support a fence (hedgerow), are now considerably weaker and have always been so compared to the ramparts of Langelau and Königslau.

Strong support for our interpretation lies in the irrigation system, which depended on the large spring pond in the Sennetrift and is still evident throughout the entire eastern section, and which appears to have been aided by human hands. What owner could and would undertake such an effort for a piece of pastureland, other than those men of the Germanic period who wished to care for chosen sacred horses?

Added to this is the name Eckelau, whose connection to the *deit* root, as explained by the Germanists I consulted, is regarded as probable or at least possible. In Schleswig-Holstein, ‘Ecke’ is still used today as a term for ‘mare’. A connection between the word and ‘Egge’ is impossible given the terrain; a link to ‘Eiche’ is unlikely, as oaks, alongside beeches, make up only a scattered part of the pine forest. One might also consider the Niesen Ecke from the Thidrek saga, whom Dietrich, coming from Soest, encountered; this would then include a stone in which the Niese dwelt and from which he had emerged (Externstein?). The contour lines on the geological map show a remarkable regularity at two points in Eckelau. The soil composition has been carefully selected from the surrounding area (clay and marl with alluvial deposits, local facies of the ground moraines).

Unlike the other three Lauen, the Lindelau is not walled. It is a raised area of ground; there is no water within it, but a few steps beyond its boundary lies a sizeable pond. The name, unless we wish to think of ‘Lind’ as ‘worm’ or ‘lindworm’, points to the lime tree, which in Germany is scarcely considered as a forest tree, but which, as a court tree, played a significant role in our old settlements even beyond the Germanic period. It may therefore not seem unfounded to regard Lindelau as the court site one would expect to find near the sanctuary. The lime tree seems to survive nowhere without being planted; that is why there is no trace of it to be found in Lindelau either. On the other hand, we find the rowan among the pines, which was also regarded as a court tree. The acacia also grows nearby. It seems to have been a favoured court tree in southern Germany; but I have also found it on several occasions in northern Germany at old court sites, for example in Hermsdorf near Berlin. According to legend, Christ’s crown of thorns and Aaron’s rod were made of acacia wood. The

large-flowered species (^arnesiana) was only introduced to Germany from Central America in 1700.

The Königslau, covering an area of just 14 acres, is entirely enclosed by a sturdy embankment at least equal in strength to the ramparts of the Langelau (Fig. 45), which bears no relation whatsoever to the value of this small piece of pastureland as grazing land. The notion that the embankment served a purely economic purpose must be firmly rejected.
Königslau has no water at present; a tiny marshy patch might be taken as a sign of former water. It is dry sandy soil, which nevertheless supports a stately pine forest. The idea of a camp, a settlement or any kind of facility for the habitation of people or animals must appear entirely improbable.
What could this heavily enclosed site of Königslau, which by its very name bears the character of a chosen sacred grove, possibly signify?
The only mound in Königslau that may contain graves is elongated (about 80 m) and offers nothing of note. Such elongated mounds, roughly in the form of the one Schuchhardt describes as a 'Hünenhügel' at the eastern end of the Stonehenge racecourse, are likely to escape the attention of archaeologists more frequently precisely because of this shape. For the conspicuous regular rounding and the identifiable centre are absent; in circular mounds, this centre simultaneously indicates the spot where an excavation can be begun with a prospect of success; in elongated mounds, however, the prospect of striking the right spot is far slimmer. Consequently, no conclusions can be drawn from an unsuccessful excavation attempt in Königslau, which covered an area of approximately two square metres to a depth of 1.60 metres.
If this is indeed a burial mound, then a question of great significance arises for us: might the name 'Königslau', like those of the other three 'Lau' sites, be ancient, bearing witness to the importance this burial site held during its period of use? It would then represent the royal burial ground of the surrounding tribes. We recall the discovery of the royal tomb at Sedin. — Within the enclosure there is also a small, separately walled square-shaped area. Its significance, too, remains unclear.
The likelihood of error in such a case is, of course, high, and no guarantee of any success from an excavation can be given. However, in the name of our overall understanding of sacred sites, we must be permitted to ask the question. Whether the question warrants the undertaking of serious and costly excavation attempts must be left to the experts in the science of archaeology and the relevant authorities. If not, we would have to forgo any certainty regarding the nature of this sacred grove.
Even in the field of classical archaeology, there is a salutary limitation. For my part, I see my task as investigating whether, beyond the scope of archaeological science and based on the findings of archaeological science, there are still avenues through which we can work to dispel the darkness surrounding the 'Germanic' past.

10. Teuderr and True

a German ‘town’ and a field

/^The old Paderborn writer Schalen (1693) turns his attention to the question of why Paderborn, where Charlemagne had the first church in the wider region built and consecrated as early as 785, had such a large population from the outset. He finds no other answer than that the founding of the church itself exerted such a powerful attraction. It does not occur to him that an already existing large population and the significance of the place for the whole country were, in fact, the very reason why the first church was founded here in the first place.

Ever since the time of the Apostle Paul, who went to Athens, Corinth and Nome, and not to deserted areas, it has been the practice of the missionary Christian Church to go where the greatest number of people could be reached with the Gospel. When places of worship were built in isolated areas, we must always ask about the specific underlying reason.

This consideration alone leads us to regard Paderborn, the site of the first church, as the most significant and most populous settlement in the region prior to the introduction of Christianity.

Further supporting this view, and just as significant as the founding of the church, is the fact that Charlemagne established his residence at the source of the Lippe at least eight times: 776, 777, 780, 782, 783, 785, 799, 804, as well as Louis the Pious in 815 — six of these times in Paderborn and three in Lippspringe, which is to Paderborn roughly what Versailles is to Paris.

It was there that the great figures of the empire were summoned, it was there that the embassies of foreign nations came, and once even Pope Leo. Four times the assemblies are explicitly

Called ‘Imperial Assemblies’, these gatherings were attended by representatives of Frankish authority from across the vast empire. The first was held as early as 777, just five years after the start of the Thirty-Two-Year War, at a time when there was not the slightest hint of West Frankish influence on the character of this purely Germanic settlement. The visit must have been highly satisfactory.

It is worth considering why Charles might have thought to instruct his court marshal to make preparations for an Imperial Diet in Paderborn – and not just once, but on several occasions. Did he wish to, and was he able to, subject his nobles and the distinguished foreign guests, along with their retinues, to the hardships, privations and solitude of a field camp in the wilderness or amongst isolated settlements? Or did he wish for them to witness, for once, the prevailing conditions of some insignificant, run-of-the-mill village in the newly subjugated Saxony? Can the practical difficulties of catering, accommodation, meeting rooms and transport routes—which any unsuitable location for such gatherings inevitably presents—be entirely overlooked? Can we give this any reasonable thought without imagining the external cultural conditions and expectations that were customary around the year 800 at the courts of princes and nobles throughout the lands, and which played a particularly significant role in the case of Charlemagne, an upstart?

Charles went to Paderborn because it was the most populous, impressive and significant city in the old Saxon lands, and because it offered the fewest difficulties and the best facilities for large, demanding gatherings. A city that was well-suited to convey the significance of his victory over this powerful land — a city deemed worthy of being ranked alongside Aachen, Mainz and Frankfurt. Conversely, Charlemagne wished to impress the people of Paderborn with the display of his power and splendour. In the annals we read that in the year 776 there was a countless, frightened crowd of women and children (Laxones portsrrlti — innumsrabllis wultitucko) who were led to be baptised in the spring waters near Lippspringe (Jordanquelle!). It must essentially have been the inhabitants of Paderborn, as the surrounding area was sparsely populated or — in the Senne region — virtually deserted.
. A sizeable city of the Germanic peoples? If the same were said of the Arabs, the Ethiopians, the Mexicans or the Manchus, it would cause no surprise. But we have reached the point where the mere mention of the Germanic peoples is met with a doubtful shake of the head. A judgement reported by Tacitus—perhaps not intended to be comprehensive or conclusive—is taken up, generalised, possibly even distorted, and in the blink of an eye the ground is laid for a very far-reaching, culturally disparaging view. It is obvious that a people lacking any local organisation of the human forces that depend on cooperation must remain culturally backward. Thus, the Germanic peoples have been described, with marked emphasis, as a peasant people. The geographer Ptolemy, who lived at roughly the same time as Tacitus, held a very different view of the settlement pattern in Germania, listing 69 notable ‘cities’ in Germania.

Admittedly, there were no towns modelled on or reflecting the style of the cities of the Roman-Oriental antiquity, with stone houses standing side by side and fortified on all sides; nor were there towns in the later medieval sense, where, for the sake of security against external enemies, banditry and lawlessness, the half-timbered houses were pressed closely together and surrounded by a town wall. They were simply Germanic towns, and in our case a Westphalian town, which probably presented a similar picture to that still offered today by large parts of the old Westphalian town of Soest: house upon house, each situated in a garden and enclosed by its own wall. The houses were half-timbered structures with broad roofs, richly painted and adorned with elaborate or simple carvings; palaces for the great lords, stately homes for the nobility, simpler dwellings for the craftsmen and merchants, and small houses for the ‘lite’ or servants.

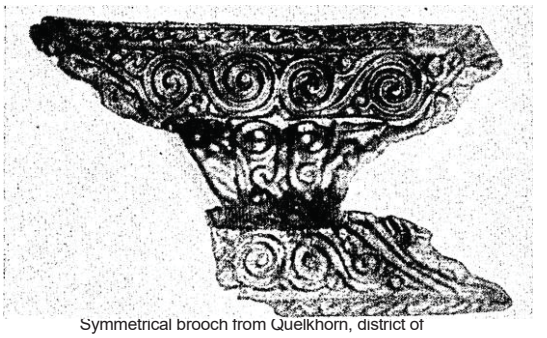
In the towns, the entire merchant class dealt in the numerous goods that were not produced locally, and in some cases could not even be produced locally. All manner of raw materials—such as dyes, metals, imported timber, amber, millstones, pots and tools, musical instruments and other manufactured goods, as well as salt and foodstuffs that were not available or produced locally—had to be purchased.

For the exchange of goods, on the other hand, which were brought in by foreign merchants, from other tribes or from abroad, there were, on certain days,

; people would make the pilgrimage there from far and wide, just as the rural folk still love to do today. We still have open-air market places outside towns and villages, particularly horse and general markets, often situated on district boundaries, which make one wonder from what era such an institution might well originate.

It is particularly important that we gain a clear understanding of the state of craftsmanship in the pre-Carolingian centuries. Certainly, everyone made whatever they could in their own homes. Thus, every stage of the process of making linen clothing—from sowing the flax seed to weaving—took place within the family; as recently as 60 years ago, there was a loom in almost every house in my home village.

But these possibilities had their natural limits. Even the question of the equipment and tools required for the production of linen leads us to craftsmen and traders. Or could one perhaps make everything oneself? Perhaps even first crfin- Or copy it from the equally clumsy neighbour?



Symmetrical brooch from Quelkhorn, district of Achim

Just look at the finds in the museums, such meagre nests of whatever culture they may be, or the depictions of the Germanic peoples from the time of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius, which testify to what was already in use and being produced in Germania in Roman times. Nor is there a single artefact from the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures found in museums whose manufacture or commercial distribution would not have been widespread throughout Germania, had it gained popularity.

By the Carolingian period, a proper craft tradition had long since developed for all products that could only be produced on the basis of experience painstakingly gathered and learned over many generations, particularly when they were intended to meet the demands of the nobility and the wealthy. The notion that guilds and builders' huts only came into being later is a completely unfounded assumption, with no basis whatsoever.

Properly trained craftsmen were necessary for the Germanic fur coat shown to us in Fig. 78, for the men's trousers—difficult to make yet perfectly fitting—for the patterned women's clothing made from various fabrics,

for the carts and ships, for the pottery and barrels, for tables and chairs, for the products of the goldsmiths and silversmiths, etc.

Blacksmiths, who originated from the keepers of the sacred fires in the forests and mountains, seem to have remained in isolation for a long time, and many other trades could also be practised on individual farms. But those trades that depended on cooperation, various tools and a customer base were concentrated in the larger settlements, market towns and cities. It is a completely absurd notion that craftsmanship in Germania was generally practised by every farmer for himself and, at most, for his less skilled neighbour. What is unreasonable, we must also

Fig. 52. Individual parts of the Ahaus find
One of the armour pieces, hanging plates, above it a neck ring, shield boss? Tullcnaxt

not accept as having once been the case in ancient history. What the illustrations presented here—of Lower Saxon archaeological finds (Labansen near Verden, Landesmuseum Hannover)—show us is not the endeavour of isolated rural dwellers, but the fruit of organised economic activity, for which the necessary preconditions were in place in every respect. The semi-finished products and crucibles of the Eberswalde gold sand have demonstrated their local origins.

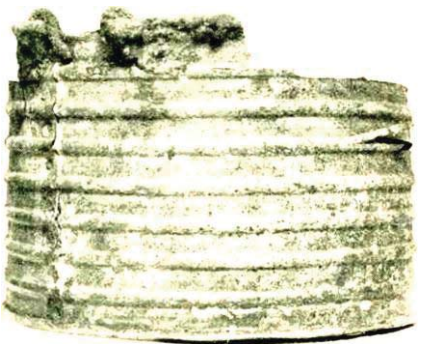
All those who had something to offer, teach, impart or bestow upon others; many who had to organise and govern; all those who were neither compelled nor willing to live in the solitude of the countryside – these, in the natural course of things, formed the city's population.

So, Germanic cities! It is one of the most foolish contradictions in world history to suppose that one can speak of a Germanic city solely on the basis of such rational conclusions: in reality, Germanic urban life had, after all, ‘ Ans I. Holste, Unsere Heimat. Published by Maünlo. Verven
‘Aller, 1927, kindly made available.

only developed since the time of Henry I. Was it not downright childish of us to assume that economic conditions, which require centuries to develop, could be created on command? Henry I's towns were nothing more than small fortifications, which had, however, as a result of the general turmoil and insecurity that had arisen, become necessary for the protection of the unfortified rural and urban settlements in the country and were now increasingly attracting those in need of protection.

We also have historical evidence of the existence of Germanic towns. In Tacitus's writings, apart from the Nbeinslädtcn, a significant Germanic town is mentioned, namely the capital of the Chatti, Mattiacum—now Wiesbaden. But, as mentioned,

Ptolemy, the first geographer to write about Germania, lists for us 11 Germanic cities by name, along with their geographical longitude and latitude. According to the conventional historical view, these many cities must have disappeared over the following 500 years, only to be gradually replaced , gradually be replaced by new towns in which churches and bishoprics were established! In the Carolingian period, it is already a considerable number that we know by name.



Ptolemy, too, was unfamiliar with the country and its language, and certainly lacked reliable informants. Moreover, the copyists, evidently without any understanding of the significance and order of the ordinal numbers, altered the sequence of the names and in doing so often jumbled up the numbers. Linguistic knowledge and Latinisation have corrupted the names. It is a pity, yet Ptolemy is of the utmost importance to us, because he provides evidence of the existence of notable Germanic cities as early as Roman times. The tables could also provide us with further insight into ancient Germania, were it not for the fact that Charlemagne and the Christian Church had the disastrous habit of eliminating the old place names and replacing them with new ones.

Charlemagne also bestowed the new name Paderborn upon the town, which he did not found but which was endowed with a church; this name most likely supplanted the name Tenderi. Apart from a few towns near the Rhine, almost all the names in Ptolemy's table of cities have disappeared as a result of this practice.

However, Ptolemy has left us a small clue as to their location. The longitudes of all the listed cities along the Rhine are, in fact, correct to within one degree. From this, one can at least conclude that cities whose stated longitudes deviate significantly from this were not situated on the Rhine either. Teuderium cannot, therefore, have been situated on the left bank of the Rhine; nor, as Antoninus suggests, can it have been Lüdder. But we can also dispense with this observation.

What was Paderborn called before Charlemagne? Bishop Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, who, as an admirer of Charlemagne, evidently prefers to believe that Charlemagne was also the founder of Paderborn, lists with commendable objectivity four historians and interpreters of the table whom he regards as competent — Petrus Montanus, Althamar, Harius, Glockner — who state that Paderborn is the Teuderium listed by Ptolemy. They are also supported by a Paderborn cleric, Thonerus, who, on the basis of other evidence, asserts that the place situated where Paderborn now stands was called Tutorium. We have no reason to contradict these authorities.

Thus, the ancient name Teuderi has been identified for the populous settlement which, situated on the border of the Holy Mark's territory, served as the confederate capital of the united tribes and was subsequently named Paderborn by Charlemagne.

The significance of Teuderi would have corresponded to the respective strength and importance of the tribes' religious and political alliance. This was the reason why the Romans and Franks drove out of Teuderi-Paderborn, just as any enemy invading the country sought to gain a foothold in Nom, Paris, Vienna or Berlin as the focal points of resistance.

During major festivals in Osningmark, Teuderi was the main hub for the crowds flocking in from the east, south and south-west. At such times, the road leading north via Lippspringe into the sacred area would have been bustling with long processions of pilgrims.

The field Truc

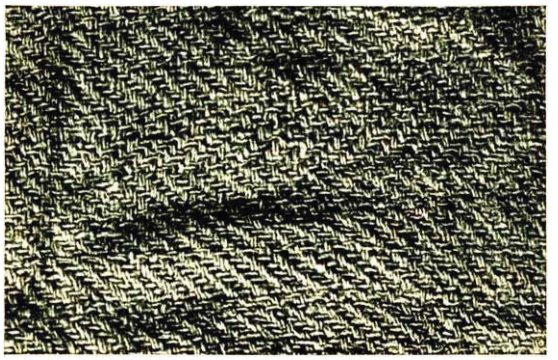
The German word 'Wieland' refers to an animal trap, and animal traps were called 'Dru' (Druck), 'Trouch' in Old High German. A plausible connection leads from the animal trap 'Druch' to the otherwise enigmatic name 'Trojaburg'. These circular or spiral stone settings, still frequently found in Germanic countries, undoubtedly served religious purposes. Perhaps the idea was that one wished to surrender oneself completely to God before offering one's prayer at the sacred stone situated in the centre of the Trojaburg. On the 'Loh' near Döttlingen, the great Germanic gathering place in the Oldenburg region (near the mighty megalithic sites 'Glaner Braut', 'Visbecker Braut' and 'Bräutigam'), I found a field left to ruin with the remains of numerous Trojaburgen still clearly recognisable. The traces found on the Bärenstein and in the Leistrup Forest indicate that they were certainly present in this area as well (Fig. 56 below).

The name of a field called Truc caught my eye in two deeds of donation: [1]

[1] Or. E. Krause, Die Trojaburgen Nordcuropas, Glogau 1893, p. 71. — Willi Pastor, Altgermanische Monumentalkunst, Eckardt Verlag, Leipzig 1910.

Bishop Evergisus of Paderborn to the monastery of Hardehnsen near Warburg in Saxon Hesse, dated 1100. But it was not only the name of the donated field that caught my attention, but also virtually every detail of this remarkable donation.

In countless instances, private individuals have bequeathed small and even the smallest of estates to the relevant churches and nearby monasteries, usually by will. Here, however, a bishop, in the most solemn manner—in which the merit thereby acquired is repeatedly emphasised—bestows upon a monastery a 'caiiimis' situated 10 km away, that is to say, an uncultivated, at best grass-covered field, and indeed without any buildings, in a secluded and remote, not very fertile mountain valley, a field bearing the name Truc, and in addition a number, namely the third



of his wild horses. The wild horses appear to be the actual main feature of this donation, which is otherwise of no value to Hardehnsen Monastery.

In the second document, which relates to the very same donation, Thruheim is given as the name of the small village that sprang up near the field known as Truc. 'Feld zu Thrnheim' then became 'Feld to Drome' and finally 'Feldrom', as the place is still called today, situated on the provincial border south of Horn, so that one half of the village is in Lippe and Protestant, the other in Prussia and Catholic.

There can be no doubt about the location; indeed, as for the Truc field itself, in the narrow mountain valley there is likely only one round, flat hill to be considered, which the inhabitants now call Wallauf, and which Professor Nebert-Gütersloh (s), who carried out excavations on the hill 20 years ago, claims to be a Roman camp, because he believed he had found a rampart and a ditch.

In both documents, the ownership of the Truc field is also established in another way that is particularly instructive for us, namely through the naming of a most remarkable path along which the field lies. It was called the 'path from Ogenhusen to Kohlstädt'; the official use of the name suggests that the path as such was a widely recognised term. (Ogenhusen is now Oeynhausen near Nieheim.)

However, this path is not a public road, let alone a continuous one. It connects two villages, 15 km apart, across two mountain ridges via a very winding route; these villages have absolutely nothing to do with one another, whether in terms of religion, the economy or politics. A 3-km stretch between Feldrom and Sandebeck used to serve as a church path back when there was no Catholic church in Feldrom, and is therefore still clearly recognisable on this particularly difficult route, even as an impassable mountain track.

According to the documents, the route led as far as the ‘nascua erenum’ south of Kohlstädt, which must refer to the pastures beginning at the Kohlstädt ruins, from which the wild (and thus once sacred) horses of the Oesterholz and Lopshorner mountain pasture areas were to be fetched. Kuhherdsn could not provide the alpine pasture area, and the text does indeed refer to horses here.

This would seem to provide the key to the peculiar origins of the path. We are certainly not dealing here with a path name that arose under normal circumstances. Nor does its existence owe anything to the conditions prevailing around 1160, but rather dates back to a time when there were even closer links from the east to Kohlstädt and the Oesterholzer Mark, which began there. It was a route along which people made pilgrimages to the holy sites, and along which, naturally, they also fetched the sacred untamed horses that were needed wherever people shared the same faith – horses which, as Tacitus notes, were maintained at a common expense.

After more than three hundred years, this pilgrimage route from the east to Kohlstädt was still known as such and named after Ogenhusen, where a collection point is thought to have been located on what is now the Oeynhausen estate. The sacred, free-roaming horses had become wild horses in the possession of the Counts of Lippe and the Bishops of Vaderborn. The latter must have reserved the wild horses, or a portion thereof, when Oesterholz was granted.

It is interesting to note that in the Hessengau region, people had still not forgotten their claim to the horses that had once been jointly owned by the surrounding tribes. For the Bishop of Paderborn apparently acceded to the wishes—or even the claims—of the people of Warburg, but insisted that it be regarded as a free and meritorious gift. He ceded to the people of Marburg a third of his stud farm, along with the Truc field on the road from Ogenhusen to Kohlstädt—the field that had once served as a resting and camping place for pilgrims and which, owing to its cultic significance, had been included among the lands assigned to the monastery. Thus, the site was still being used as a resting and grazing place in 1160, when wild horses were brought to the Oesterholzer Mark. But the Truc, the Trojaburg, which had once offered pilgrims on their way an opportunity for a final act of piety before entering the holy Mark, had long since fallen to ruin.

We note, moreover, that the path, which mostly runs along the ridge between the Truc field and Kohlstädt, ends at the ‘Heidcnkirche’. Perhaps many a pilgrim sought counsel and prophecy from the seeress upon entering or leaving the Holy Mark.

We are also aware of another connection between the Oesterholzer Mark and the Hessengau, namely that a Lord of Calenberg near Warburg, before the Count of

Waldeck was enfeoffed with the Westerholz Freistuhl and its associated estates. This event is notable for the cultic peculiarity of the small estate and stands out as a thread leading from a great distance into the Oesterholz Mark; precisely because of its material insignificance, it is all the more significant for our research. For it is to be assumed that the nobleman of Waldeck, who later became a count, was serving as lord of the Freistuhl in Oesterholz at the very time when Charlemagne was carrying out the division of the Marches, and that he belonged to the great figures of that era.

who, as loyal followers of Karl, were without further ado made owners of the communal lands they administered. How else could a Count of Waldeck have come into possession of a remote, isolated Freistuhl farmstead?

If G. A. Schierenberg is correct in stating that the borders of the Chatti extended, at least at times, northwards beyond the Hessengau as far as Erpentrup and Merlsheim (not far from Oeynhausen in the Langenhain district), then the route ‘from Oeynhausen to Kohlstädt’ would represent a Chatti pilgrimage route into the Mark region. In this way, they could reach the collective sanctuaries of the united tribes as closely as possible within their own territory. But whoever took their final rest in the Truc field had only a short distance to travel, both to Kohlstädt and to the Erternsteine.

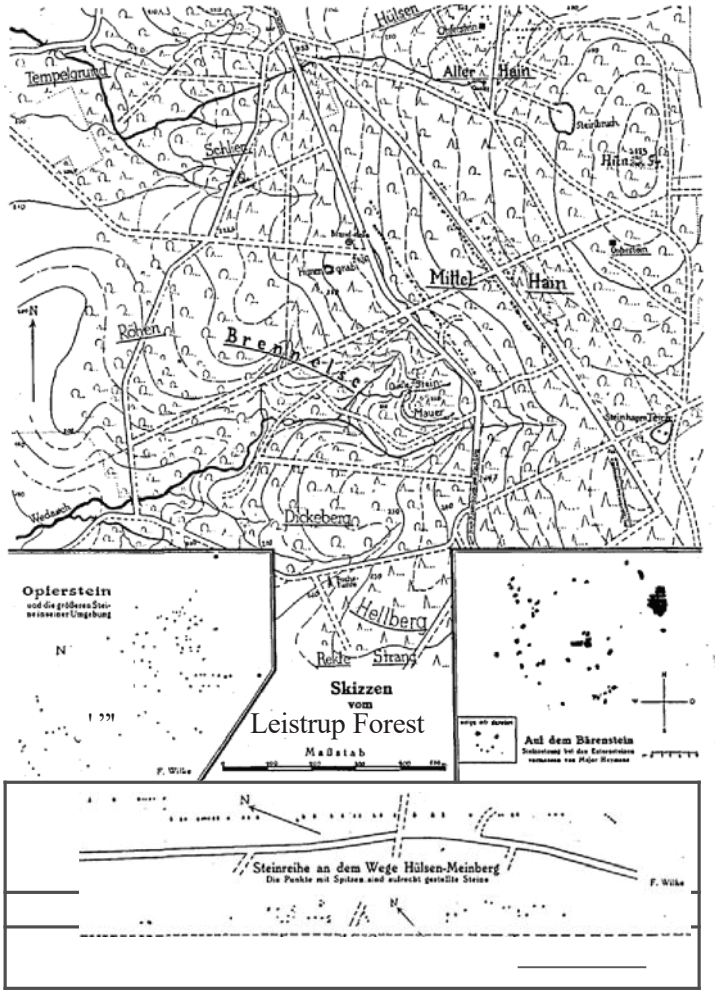


Fig. 56. Map of Leistrup Forest

10. Theotmalli

Leistruper Forest — Detmold

The significance of the word ‘Theot’, with its varied spellings in the ancient ^/the ancient names of the town of Detmold, right back to Theotmalli, where the battle between Charlemagne and Wittekind took place, is Vol k. It is the same word as Teut in Teutoburg. The Malli — Mal is the court or the place of judgement.

According to Schierenberg, the ancient Theotmalli (a site of popular worship) is said to have been located in the JmLeistrup Forest, also known as Steinhagen, 6 km east of Detmold (see overview map and special map). In fact, this mysterious forest, covering some 2 square kilometres, contains so much evidence of its former cultic significance and exhibits such corresponding features in other respects that Schierenberg’s assertion—which drew particular attention to documentary evidence—has proved correct. Apart from the sacrificial stones, he was also aware of the remains of the cyclopean wall in the southern part of the forest, although the knowledge available to him at the time did not allow him to interpret them.

Two heavy boulders, one of which I have shown in the photograph, situated 500 metres apart, are referred to in local parlance and on the survey maps as ‘Qpfersteine’. Hollows and inexplicable drill holes can be seen on them, but nothing else, so that most observers simply shrug their shoulders. In the forest, hundreds of uncut stones lie scattered about in several places, including numerous rough boulders measuring up to 1 cubic metre and more. They are likely to originate from the sandstone of the mountain. As to why they lie so loosely on the forest floor, even geologists seem to have no unanimous answer. Since time immemorial, the local inhabitants have taken stones from the forest for their buildings; most recently, a massive wall, similar to the one I show in Fig. 58, was used in 1917 for the reconstruction of the burnt-down main house at Döringsfeld. The stones have also been used for road construction. The natural abundance of stone seems to me to have been one of the reasons why the ancients chose the forest for their ritual purposes; but it also enjoys an excellent location.

The absence of any further carving or of any symbols or images on all the sacrificial stones known to us can be explained by the ancient custom of leaving altar stones ‘uncut’, that is, in their natural state. Rows of holes, hewn with the intention of splitting and destroying the stones should they be too large to be carried away, are undoubtedly partly attributable to the period of conversion, as there are plenty of stones and blocks of any desired size available in the forest. No one would undertake such arduous work of blasting if it were entirely unnecessary. The stone I show in the illustration has defied the intent to destroy it, and the task of removing it in accordance with the first Edict of Nantes (cf. page 201) proved too difficult even for the zealots.

We find a prohibition against hewing altar stones in the Old Testament, Joshua 8:31. The situation was different with the temples themselves (Ezra 5:8). Such evidence is all the more important to us for the study of our Germanic conditions,

the more we learn to discern, in the Bible and also in the Old Testament, the venerable elements of humanity's primordial religious concepts, feelings and customs from the overgrowth and burden of Semitic peculiarities. The biblical contribution to the primordial tradition does indeed have verifiable roots. Abraham came from Ur in Chaldea, the seat of ancient knowledge, and Moses was instructed 'in all the wisdom' of the Egyptians at the Egyptian royal court. In this way, the striking lack of inscriptions, markings and other human alterations to the cult stones finds a sufficient explanation. In the case of the hollows on our sacrificial stones, however, one cannot help but think that human hands may have lent a hand to make the stone more convenient for the slaughter of large sacrificial animals.

The Leistrup Forest has not received much attention to date, even though the old names of the forest districts leave no doubt that we are standing on ground that was once sacred. We have not yet moved beyond the era in which people sought to explain the meaning of these old names in the most trivial manner, whilst fundamentally disregarding any significance that might date back to the Germanic period. Even our contemporaries in the 20th century find it difficult to grasp that, in stark contrast to materialism, our ancestors perceived the entire environment as imbued with spirit and as being inspired by it — not from the perspective of cause, but in the light of the effect it produced.

Mr Weiten from Fissenknicker Mill, who had previously attempted to arouse interest in the Leistrup Forest through a newspaper article, led me to the remains of the cyclopean stone wall already mentioned by Schierenberg. Farmer Dickewied, whose name is likely connected to the 'Wied' on which his farm is situated, showed me a straight row of rough, individually standing blocks, the number of which may have been as many as 60–100 in his youth, but which has now shrunk to half that number. To corroborate this account, I include in the footnote the testimony of Mr F. Düstersiek, Detmold*. Mr Wilke also found an impressive parallel consisting of a meagre cluster, as well as further distinct lines, numerous earthworks, walls and even an entire field full of stone burial mounds between the 'Knick' and the 'Fissenknicker Mühle', the inclusion of which in the entire sacred precinct was marked by a rampart. Added to this are Scheppe's accounts of the wealth that has vanished over the last 60 years, so that we are faced with an abundance of evidence pointing to the once lively and varied use of the forest by what were evidently large numbers of people. The many enclosures within the forest can scarcely be explained otherwise than that the various groups of people, districts and hundreds, had their designated

He writes: In the Leistrup Forest, the broad, dead-straight forest path leading to Meinberg was lined on one side, for a stretch of several hundred metres, with stones ranging in size from Vs to 1 cubic metre; unfortunately, most of these were smashed up in the 1890s and used as boundary stones. The distance between the stones was irregular, with gaps of several metres in between. I still have a clear memory of this stone setting. F. Düstersiet. (Born 1856.)

had a fenced-in plot where they provided for their own sustenance during their stay. In addition, water was abundantly available to them from springs, streams and ponds.

An invaluable contribution to research into the ‘Steinbagen’ or Leistrup Forest, as well as a number of other sites in this region, emerged unexpectedly in the summer of 2020 in the form of a previously unknown, unpublished manuscript in which Colonel Scheppe recorded the results of his decades of work in the 1960s and 1970s. Scientific rigour and clarity characterise the 115 folio pages, which are illustrated with numerous excellent drawings. Our Fig. M shows one of the trees still present in the forest in 1871, which has since been completely...

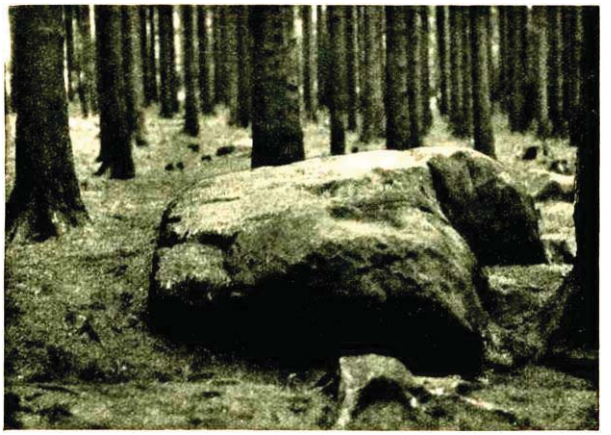


Fig. 57. Opfcrstcin

, whose interpretation as a boundary for hunting, ownership or protection from a later period any observer will immediately recognise as impossible. We see in this the irrefutable confirmation of our interpretation of the boundary markers and stone alignments, as the images of the present state show us. The title reads: ‘Various items from the old Saxon lands’. We owe the provision of this material to the interest and insight of the author’s son, Mr. Korv.-Kapt. Scheppe-Entin. Our map of the Leistrup Forest does not yet reflect the picture of it that has now emerged; its revision has begun.

For archaeology, ‘Steinhagen’—which we must now, with all certainty, declare to be a sacred grove—presents a vast, almost inexhaustible field of research. The task far exceeds the capabilities of individuals who have endeavoured to tackle it—as School Inspector Schwanold has done thus far.

The stone rows—that is, the individual blocks set out in a straight line—are indeed prime evidence of the forest’s ritual character, as they

have their counterparts in the stone avenues of southern England and Brittany, but identifying their practical ritual use remains impossible for us here as well as there (Fig. 1).

We can, however, consider the oval stone wall between Brennelse and Mittelhain in greater detail. Not only is there no evidence to support the assumption that it forms the enclosure of an ancient settlement, but previous findings also contradict this: moreover, an ordinary settlement would have no place within a sacred grove. All other attempts to explain the cyclopean stone wall are completely implausible and untenable. I can state with great certainty: here we have the ruins of the enclosure of a Germanic ritual site. Everything we see here supports this view; it is consistent with previous research on sacred sites, and it makes a valuable contribution to the overall picture we are to form of the Leistrup Forest. There is nothing to contradict this assertion (Fig. 50).

Fig. 58. Cyclops Mound (Leistrup Forest)

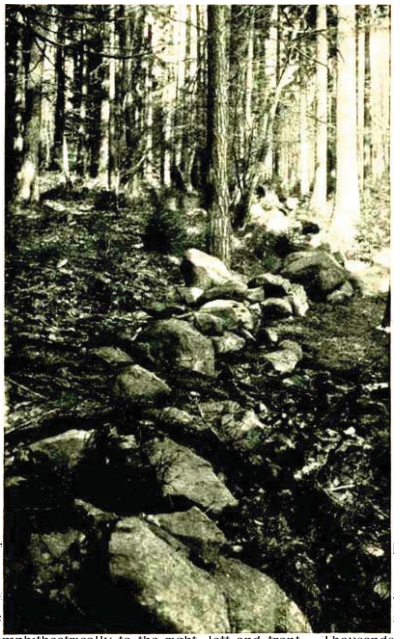
The most detailed account of what can be said about the Germanic rock art sites is to be found in E. v. Wckus (Die Bedeutung der Ortsnamen für die Vorgeschichte, Sis-Verlag, Zeitz). He himself describes his work as the result of many years of painstaking research in historical and linguistic works, place-name registers, and state, ecclesiastical, municipal and clan records, as well as countless site visits undertaken during extensive travels and hikes. According to him, a 'M alstatt' (also called Ding, Dum, Weichtum, Wichhus) comprised: 1. The 'Mal' (an oak, ash, beech, lime or birch tree, or in some places a pillar) into which the 'Malkrenz' (X) was carved, in the sacred Ning. 2. The 'Hundmiihle'. 3. The blue or bloody stone, the Lpfer-stein. 4. The pyre or sacrificial pile made of various woods. 5. The holy spring (Sonnborn). 6. The hammer of the gate, the symbol of justice, which was hung in the Malkreuz.

The gathering place was surrounded by a wooden enclosure (a double-planked fence) and red sacred ribbons, as well as an earthen embankment. The outer enclosure of the gathering place consisted of hawthorn, hazel, locust, blackberry or other thorn bushes; in marshy areas, rushes were also used. The whole complex included the grove and, furthermore: the K ampfwi e s e — the nobleman's allod, comprising the manor house and farmyard, from which a hidden path led to the Malstatt. — The

cremation or burial site. — The high court or Wolf. — Watchtowers or mounds. — Other sites of divine worship.

Although von Wekns may occasionally err in his subsequent interpretation of place names, his research into painting sites is certainly of great value and offers numerous insights.

All the evidence suggests that the Leistrup Forest should be regarded as part of the Mark belt stretching between the Che-rusker- and Angrivaricr tribe, and which, at the Ex-tcrnstcinen, connected to the great Osning'Mark with the many shared sanctuaries of the neighbouring tribes . From the Erternsteine and the Holzhäuser Tentberg, the belt extends over the Brantberg and Banncnbcrg near Schmedissen, the Schönemark, Fissenknick (connected by a rampart to the Fissenknik-ker mill), Leistruper Wald, and, it seems, as far as the Beltheimer Mark east of Vlotho (cf. S. KO).



Admittedly, these are only fragments, but the belt is still clearly discernible. To the west, gradually the settlement pattern begins, in which individual farms predominate; to the east of it are the compact hamlets, as a glance at the 1:100,000 scale map of the national survey can confirm. I am also informed that a difference is noticeable , e.g. in that on the eastern side, ‘mek’ is used for ‘me’ prevails, whereas the western side has the ‘mi’ research.

If the Leistrup Forest was the site of the jo would also explain the vast dimensions of the a sloping hillside, whose surroundings rise amphitheatrically to the right, left and front. Thousands could observe and hear what was taking place and being said at the Malstütte. The stone wall of the Malstütte itself is still about 180 metres long and would perhaps measure 250 metres if the disrupted oval were to be completed. The

There is no shortage of the water required for the sacrificial rite, which sprang from an ancient spring that is still discernible today; moreover, the forest is otherwise rich in water and contains two sizeable ponds. The conditions of one of the ponds provide strong grounds for investigating its source to see whether any votive offerings might still be found there.

Names of great significance, such as Alterhain, Mittelhain, Tempelgrund, Brenneise, Hülsen, Dickwied and Dickerberg, must be noted carefully.

One of the megalithic tombs in the forest contained a stone lining. A second, circular mound lying immediately adjacent, looking exactly like a megalithic tomb, was also opened. Mr Schwanold was met with a most remarkable surprise: a site of such intense burning that the clayey soil had been fired into a brick-like state, and beautiful glazed surfaces had formed on the burnt clay due to molten rock! It is difficult to explain this phenomenon by later brick-making activity at this site. The burnt area — situated in the Brennelse forest — may have been the base of a pyre that served a constantly maintained intense fire; for without such heat, generated by a continuous fire and not diminished by pauses, the glazed surfaces could not have formed. The site of the fire awaits a better explanation from experts. If such an explanation cannot be provided, then we shall have to reckon with the assumption that our ancestors also had perpetual fires in their sacred groves, to which the custom of the eternal lamp may have been linked in Christian times. For careful study, I recommend our map of the Leistrup Forest (Fig. 56), which was initially produced on a scale of 1:2500 (by reducing the survey map sheet tenfold) and then scaled down. It was produced with considerable effort and care, based on the measurement of the position of every single stone by Messrs F. Wilke, Lieutenant Colonel Platz and Major von Donop, so that it can claim to provide an accurate picture of the current position of the stones. It is not merely a sketch; wherever necessary for illustration, the stones lying around elsewhere—which are not taken into account—weighing more than about half a hundredweight have also been marked. In this way, a picture emerges before our eyes which is far more instructive and useful for assessment than if we were to visit the forest and find ourselves constantly confronted only with small sections of the whole, the view of which is moreover often obstructed by undergrowth and trees. Photography is of little help. Straight lines can already be observed in nature, but it is only on the map that entire avenues appear as undeniably present! The similarity to the stone avenues near Kerleskau in Brittany is quite unmistakable. A judgement as to whether the circular formations currently becoming apparent may be regarded as the last remnants of destroyed so-called Trojan castles cannot be reached through an on-site inspection, nor by climbing to the highest treetops, and even less so through aerial photographs, but only on the basis of a map image such as ours. The majority of experts conclude that, taking into account the overall context of the evidence and the examples we have in southern England and Brittany, there is no doubt that ritual stone circles once existed in the Leistrup Forest. Here we are reminded of the Truc field.

The situation is similar with the ruined stone circle on the Bärenstein,

minutes from the Externsteine, a map of which I have included in the bottom right-hand corner of the map of the Leistrup Forest. See Fig. 60.

But the decisive factor in the overall assessment is the stone circles. These consist, for the most part, of rough blocks, some of which weigh up to 25 hundredweight. Who would dare to claim that the immense effort required to haul, position and align such blocks could have been expended even in later times? The sketch distinguishes the stones that have not yet been set in place.

However, if the stone circles are recognised, the right to cast doubt on the other ritual ruins disappears, and the following arises for those situated on solid ground

Fig. 60. Stone circle from Bärenstein

archaeology the promising task of conducting a more detailed investigation of the ancient Germanic sanctuary.

The Leistrup Forest becomes a testament to and a testament to the spirit of August Schierenberg. In his time (the 1970s and 1980s), most of the scientific community and scientific societies of the day mocked him and dismissed him as a troublemaker. His friends abandoned him. Those who made use of the fruits of his mind omitted his name. His swan song, written at the age of 87, cuts to the heart.

In his youth, he stood behind the shop counter. The knowledge he acquired through endless diligence reveals gaps and a lack of method and order; when reading his writings, one is pulled back and forth. But in intellect, he left his critics far behind. That the Eddaic centre lay in Germania

is no longer in doubt, but in his hasty interpretation of names, even I cannot follow him.

The field of classical studies owes him an apology and gratitude. Its representatives of that time have fallen silent. I did not know A. Schierenberg personally; his writings only came into my possession a few years ago. But I, for my part, would like to make up for what was neglected back then.

The later Theotmalli-Detmold

Schierenberg's conclusion, that the Leistrup Forest was the ancient Theotmalli, whilst Detmold was its successor, the new Theotmalli, deserves full attention. In ancient Germania, too, needs changed and grew. The valleys had become more suitable for human use as a result of their progressive drainage, and so people moved from the Leistrup Forest into the Werre Valley.

Perhaps it was only in the final centuries of the Germanic era that the great halls described in the Edda first came into being, halls which continued to exist on Scandinavian soil well into historical times. Here, however, such mighty wooden structures—along with any knowledge of their former existence—have vanished into the yawning chasm between the Germanic and the Roman-Christian eras. In Detmold, too, we can only rely on the likelihood that a hall of immense proportions once stood on the site of the old cemetery (Bürgerknabenschule). This assumption is based on the continuity of conditions, which could not be entirely disrupted even by events such as the onset of West Frankish rule. Even if the hall had burnt down and the established order of things had been almost completely shattered, the remaining people nevertheless carried on and had their reasons for gathering even outside the churches. The old sites were still the ones designated for reconstruction. Or might Detmold's oldest (timber) church have stood there?

Detmold is one of a number of Germanic towns east of the Rhine and north of the Main whose name is mentioned in the history of the 33-year Saxon Wars. It was here that Charlemagne fought to a draw in 780. As a result of the battle, Charlemagne retreated to Paderborn, where an expected second Frankish army arrived in the following weeks; with the combined armies, the Saxons were defeated on the Haase. The location of the church that Charlemagne had vowed to build for St Peter in the event of victory remains uncertain. It has been suggested that it was the Hünenkirche in the Tönsberg camp near Örlinghausen, a chapel on the Jakobsberg at the Westphalian Gate, or the church in Heiligenkirchen. Perhaps, however, it was the conversion of the lower grotto of the Externsteine into a chapel, which one might consider given the (altered?) figure of St Peter in front of the old entrance. Schierenberg writes*: "In a small treatise entitled 'Nxoorpt' taken from apparently lost Osnabrück chronicles, Dr Veitmann provides information on a report originating from a 12th-century chronicle, but taken from chronicles older than it, and relating to the battles of 783 near Detmold and on the Haase, in which Charlemagne defeated the Saxons under Wittekind

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* A. Scheerenberg, Die Kriege der Römer. Reitz & Koehler, Frankfurt am Main 1888, p. 6.

was victorious. The chronicler names Gadesmelle rather than Thietmelle as the site of the first battle, and then continues verbatim: “Yet Charlemagne, having secured the place, made a vow to God that, since he had just defeated his enemies there, he would erect a temple of eternity to the glory of God above St Peter’s.”

The most likely explanation, however, is that the church was built in Detmold itself. For we know of a church in Detmold to which Charlemagne gave his utmost care. Pope Leo, who visited him in Paderborn for a few months in the year 799, was prompted by him to consecrate an altar in the church at Detmold. We learn this from the biography of Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn, who lived around the year 1000 and who removed this altar, made of a single large stone, from Detmold and brought it to the Abdinghausen Church in Paderborn.

The account given by Scherten* regarding the Pope’s visit—the truth of which is beyond doubt—seems highly enigmatic, as though there were some special significance attached to this large stone. Why does Meinwerk deprive the church in Detmold—founded and favoured by Charlemagne himself—of its altar, which must have been its greatest source of glory and pride? Was it perhaps a special act of faith, undertaken in reliance on the papal consecration, to make precisely this great stone into an altar, and did the allure of this stone — which may have been a holy stone — then exert such an undesirable influence on the Saxons that the energetic Bishop Meinwerk entrusted it to the care and service of the Abdinghof monks? - Whatever the answers to these questions may be, in any case, Detmold’s great significance as a place of popular worship, with all the associated duties and institutions of the old faith, was, during the forced and rapid introduction of Christianity, a compelling reason to make this one of the first places to be provided with a church, whilst removing everything that might have served the continuation of the old religious rites.

But where, in the early Germanic period, were the people’s open-air festivals and gathering places?

There are indications that lead us to Hiddeser Berg, and not only the springs that were present on its north-eastern slope in a manner suitable for such sites – and some of which still exist today – but also several other notable features. These include the circumstances surrounding Braunenbruch, including the owners of Braunenbruch whom we have encountered several times before, the Schwarzen family; then the soil and cultural conditions, the names of the fields, the so-called Detmolder Warte with several adjacent megalithic tombs; and finally — coming from a completely unexpected source
— the results of Dörrenberg’s excavations.

The Schwarze family were among the favoured ‘Stapeln’ (pillars) of the Paderborn monastery, endowed with the most extensive estates. They owned Vraunenbruch—which appears to have been Detmold’s actual main estate—as their ancestral estate, and in additionOesterholz, with the rights of timber harvesting extending across the entire intervening Osning Mountains, as a fief of Paderborn. But then, notably, several Brunswick fiefs, which we may well designate as ‘Cheruscan’ fiefs, whilst the Paderborn monastery was, after all, more

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' Schoten, Historical, Annual and Ecclesiastical History, Paderborn 1798, p. 34.

had a hold on the regions that were once English (Angrivarian) and situated in the Osning and Eggegebirge mountains. Our attention is held in the utmost suspense when we now hear that these Brunswick fiefs in Leistrup, Döringsfeld and Schönemark consisted of the Mark farms of Oesterholz, which belonged to the Leistrup Forest, the Mark farms of the Leistrup Forest and Braunenbruch, all in the hands of one and the same Schwarz family!

If Oesterholz, Leistrup, Döringsfeld and Schönemark were cult estates, derived from manorial holdings, then we may well ask the curious question as to whether Braunenbruch, with its Hiddeser Berg and the Schwarzenbrink (see Chapter 15, Example 31), was not also a cult estate. As we saw above, the Schwarzen family had, after all, 'always' held Oesterholz as a fief from Paderborn, that is to say, presumably for as long as it belonged to the Paderborn estate, i.e. at least since 1011, or — having been taken over from Corvey — since Bevo's death in the years between 826 and 853.

Before our eyes unfolds the Carolingian period of the bestowal and granting of mark estates to favourites of West Frankish and Saxon descent. The principle was, first and foremost, to favour those who already held the estate in question as an allod; if they were 'loyal', this served to consolidate the new rule. We cannot rule out the possibility that the Schwarzen were entrusted by their people with the cult properties in the Marches of Oesterholz and the old and new Theotmalli for cultivation or administration, and that these properties were then confirmed to them—partly as freehold and partly as fiefs—in recognition of their defection to Charlemagne's side. Here, too, I can refer to Schierenberg, who had already — without knowing anything of Oesterholz! — become aware of the name of the Blacks. There are still ways to get to the bottom of the circumstances of that time!

Where does the name 'Schwarz' come from? The Schwarzes are no less fair-haired or brown-haired than other people of German descent. One might rather think of the old epithet for priests, which originally had little to do with clothing and perhaps dates back to the Germanic period, when ravens and crows, alongside owls, were the symbols of learning and the priesthood. Perhaps some light can be shed on this through genealogical research into the Schwarzes of today.

But this whole line of thought may be left open; its insignificance or inaccuracy does not alter the fact that the Hiddeser Berg belonged to the Braunenbruch of the Schwarzen, and that the current findings regarding the Hiddeser Berg are also extremely favourable to our assumption that this was the site of the Theotmalli cult.

I have already referred to the springs on Hiddeser Berg, one of which is reputed to have healing properties. It is no less important that, given the right circumstances, there is strong evidence to suggest the existence of a suitable battlefield. Anyone walking from Detmold along the narrow ridge of the hill will be able to see for themselves that, initially, there is a layer of humus sufficient for cereal cultivation all the way up to the crest. There is no question of this having been washed away. However, after about 250 metres, turning right off the path behind the newly built country road and remaining at the same elevation, one reaches a rise in the ground from which there is a good view of the next 300 metres of the ridge up to the following elevation. Whilst

Up to this point, the highest ridge still retains remnants of the original forest cover; here, as the ridge widens to around 160 metres, we find a levelled area. This area is characterised by barrenness and the absence of a humus layer, although the gradient here offers less cause for soil erosion than elsewhere on the mountain, where the humus layer is still present. The owner has sown a special type of forage grass across the entire area, in the hope that this will gradually lead to the formation of humus.

Abb. 61.' Detmolder Warte

From the Brannenbrnch estate, a road—parts of which are still conspicuously wide and dead straight—leads to this area, on the edge of which stands a solitary house with a few ancient walls that could just as easily date from the Saxon Confederation period as from the period immediately following it. It is known as the 'house of misery' and was thus likely a leper colony in the Middle Ages. As things stand, the creation of this area must be attributed to a laborious levelling operation, which was not only carried out without any agricultural purpose but actually removed the fertile topsoil, which — it seems — benefited the fields lying beneath. We must therefore assume that the levelling served a different purpose. Since I can see no other task that one would have wished to accomplish through such a great expenditure of effort in historical and prehistoric times, apart from the creation of a playing field or a gathering place, I put this conjecture forward for consideration.

Now, a highly interesting feature of the Hiddeser Berg, whose archaeo

Its significance seems to stand in inverse proportion to its reputation and appearance: the Detmold Wartel. It lies at an elevation of 197.6 metres, hidden in a secluded spot amidst dense scrub (so that no better photograph could be obtained) and is known to very few people. To those antiquarians who were aware of it, it must have been a mystery. My attention was most vividly drawn to it, and thus to the Hiddeser Berg, by the fact that the point lies with great precision on the northern line of the Teutoburg (Hermann's Monument). The nearby megalithic tombs (stone mounds) also reinforce the notion of a sacred site.

The circular tower stump, constructed in a regular manner with mortar that is either poor quality or has deteriorated with age, is only 3.5 metres in diameter and contains nothing inside, or perhaps a shaft in which no human can stand.

There is therefore no question of a medieval watchtower, such as the one found in the Steinbecker ruins near Salzuflen, designed to provide shelter and a vantage point for one or more guards. Instead, it is of exactly the same construction as the remains of the watchtowers on the Ziegenberge near Horn and on the Dickerberge near Barntrup. The latter two are better preserved and clearly show the chimney. The Dickerberg watchtower has a hole at the bottom large enough for a sheep to pass through. Even before my studies on the ancient mountain sanctuaries, when visiting the Dickerberg watchtower, it occurred to me that such a tower stump might have served as the base for a pyre, to which air was supplied through the flue; it must then have had a grille covering it. – Or is there some other reasonable explanation?

If the Dickcrberg watchtower, as we shall see (page 222), was a 'devil's tower', then the watchtower on the Hiddeser Berg was certainly no better; we shall discuss the significance of mountain watchtowers in greater detail in our chapter on location.

Unless we wish to resort to dubious excuses, we must recognise the watchtower on the Hiddeser Berg as a mountain sanctuary dating from the Germanic period, which also has particular archaeological significance precisely because it is one of the few stone ruins from that era, and moreover a building constructed with lime mortar! I say 'absolutely' because no later construction on the old, oriented site can be considered here. For such a structure would be pointless both from a Christian perspective and in view of the functions of a medieval watchtower. The Christian religion knows of no fire towers. Watchtowers for towns were not permitted to be uninhabitable or inaccessible, nor were they built in the most unfavourable locations away from the relevant roads (in this case, primarily the Lippstadt Road).

If the planned excavations at this site were to yield any finds, they could well provide the impetus for a re-evaluation of the conventional interpretation of such finds. I have not the slightest doubt that, failing that, they would be attributed to the Middle Ages, even though my own view is that the watchtower was built at a relatively late stage of the Germanic period. But the reasons why this structure cannot have been built only in Christian times, and why it is unlikely that the structure was used in later periods, are

stronger than the foundation on which the conventional interpretation rests. To begin with, surface finds of prehistoric pottery and shards have already provided us with archaeological evidence that the site must be regarded as a centre of Germanic activity.

Given the significance that large boulders have had for the cult sites of north-western Germany, it should not go unmentioned that a whole number of boulders were found at both the north-eastern and north-western foot of the hill below the watchtower, which may have been carried there during the destruction from above. One appears to have been used in particular, as, according to expert opinion, it acquired its current shape through human intervention.

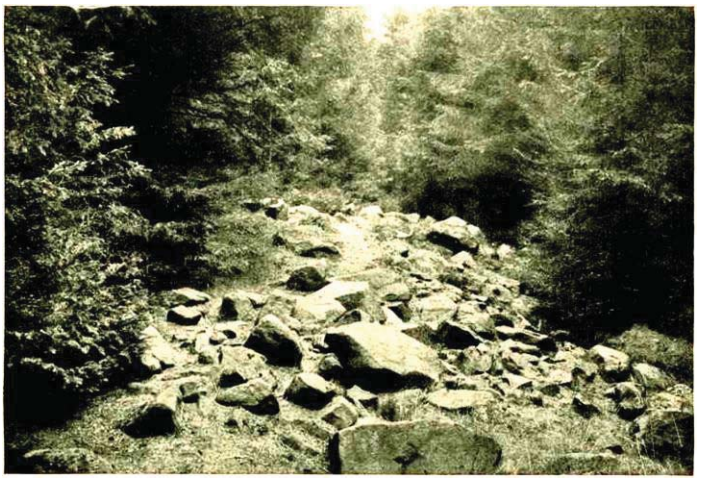
Finally, the field names. On the elongated ridge running at a uniform height, one spot—namely the spot where the tower stump stands—has the field name
“Berg”. Surrounding this point are the plots “Vor dem Berge”, “Vor dem Berge” again, “Auf dem Berge”, “Hinter dem Berge”, “Großer Berg” and “Kleiner Berg”. The site with the tower stump was therefore, for the local population, ‘The’ Mountain par excellence — an unmistakable indication of its special significance. At one spring we have the ‘Lindenort’, where the court of justice is thought to have been located; furthermore, a ‘Saalbreite’, a
“Kohlstätte” and a “Helle”. The names Jm Knick, Stumperhagen, Ellernhagen and perhaps also Nullmeiers Hagen point to the former enclosure of the entire hill. But then again the term “l a n g”! It encompasses the entire area from the presumed battlefield (and indeed its extent) all the way to Braunenbruch, 300 metres wide and 1,000 metres long, fully visible from the heights, flat throughout, half gently sloping, the other half horizontal. The names distributed across the area are Lange Wand, Lande Wand, Langen Kamp and Lange Wiese. Also, 2 km west of Hiddeser Berge, not far from Schwarzenbrink and the Waldheide, as far as Dörrenberg where the Germanicus camp extended, there appears to have been a combat training ground; for the name Langeloh is found there.

Regarded as a sanctuary of Theotmalli, with its sacred flames dedicated to the deity on a sacred site, the watchtower overlooked the town square and also the
The arena described above, situated 400 metres away. Furthermore, it was aligned with the Braunenbruch estate along the summer solstice line (131°). On that festive day, those gathered there watched the summer sun rise over Braunenbruch and the Mönkeberg. For the people of Braunenbruch, it marked the turning of the winter sun towards spring. At the same time, Huno was likely gathered festively with his people at the mountain sanctuary there, along with the clans inhabiting the Mönkeberg; for them, in turn, the sanctuary on the Dörenberg near Sternberg (chapter: Sacred Lines, Example 15) served as a marker of the solstice. The allod belonging to the Mönkeberg was Nöhrentrup, from where the path leading to the mountain sanctuary is still clearly visible today. Half of the sacred grove fell to Nöhrentrup, whilst the other half became part of the state forest as scattered holdings. The boundary runs across the site of the marker on the Mönkeberge and was perhaps also the boundary between two parishes that shared their sanctuary here. It still exists as a rampart. The name of the hill is also worth noting. Was ‘Mönchshilfe’ deemed necessary to make it sound less repulsive, was this

monastic property here, or is the name corrupted? I have been unable to ascertain this.
The northernmost point for Leutoburg, situated on the Nehberge, and the fire watchtower at Theotmalli unfortunately offer little of note, as the main site has been turned into farmland. However, the ‘hidden’ path and Huno’s allod in Papenhausen can still be recognised today—not least by the boulders that have been dragged there and other signs.

10. Teutoburg and ^'eutoburAiensis saltus

One of Schnchhardt's most commendable achievements is that, in the year 1001, through his investigation of the cyclopean rampart that once encircled the entire hilltop (including the present-day Hermann Monument), he proved beyond doubt that the Grotenburg was an ancient Germanic folk fortress, and subsequently identified it as the Teutoburg. Our illustration depicts the Breider ruins, which still stretch for a length of 250 metres through the forest. In part, the masses of stone that once formed the



They must have formed a massive enclosure, rolled down the slope; some were used to build the base of the Hermann monument, and the rest has disappeared. The enclosed area would have measured approximately 100 x 900 m (150 acres), thus representing a vast storage area. A spring pond that still exists today suggests that, up here on the summit of the mountain, in earlier times when water was more abundant, it was possible for a gathered crowd to meet their immediate need for water on festive occasions. But the water was by no means sufficient for a 'Flinburg'.

In fact, Schuchhardt's findings regarding the spade and the name have finally settled the whole range of questions that had arisen concerning 'Len Ivuwbursisiüü' snltu'. To highlight the result more clearly, it should be noted that this meticulous work has not brought to light any finds or indications on the basis of which the possibility

' Schuchhardt, The Early Historical Settlements in Lower Saxony.

There is no objection to Schuchhardt's statement: 'Whoever has the Teutoburg also has the aaltua ü'outoburmoiiais, which can only be named after it, and thus also the battlefield.'

If this significant act by a leading archaeologist, whom one would otherwise be inclined to follow, has made so little impression that the battlefield hypotheses continue to proliferate unchecked, this is a cause for lament among our people and testifies to the undercurrent that is far from having been overcome, an undercurrent that even the most discerning of German men allow themselves to be carried along by, albeit unconsciously. Infected by the frenzy of searching for and discovering Varus battlefields, which has now lasted for many decades, they fail to examine and recognise the fact that the search for and discovery of another Varus battlefield is pointless, because the historical record stands unassailable and as secure as one could possibly expect.

Given its significance, I cannot overlook this question; I also hope to finally dispel any doubts that might still diminish the joy our people—who have so little prehistory—take in the great act of liberation carried out by Hermann the Cheruscan. For the memorial site constitutes an essential part of the value of a memory.

Leaving aside the geographical absurdities with which Fllrstenberg grapples (Augsburg! Duisburg!), the disagreement over the location of the battle centred, right up until the last century, on the question of whether the site was to be found north, south, east or west of our Grotenburg. Laltun, the author of the *Isutoburniensis*, naturally allows for this dispute, and he is therefore justified in doing so.

Then came the time—whether through ignorance, misunderstanding or some other reason—when this valuable tradition was brushed aside with a wave of the hand, either on the grounds of the alleged lack of evidence for Grotenburg–Teutoburg, or on the basis of an interpretative feat as erroneous as it was feeble.

This interpretative sleight of hand goes back to Mommsen, who in Chapter 8 of Tacitus' Annals II reads 'Irrsvo nmns' (on the left river) as if it were written 'laeva rlpa' (on the left bank). Under certain circumstances, a suggestion for a textual alteration may well be permissible; but such a thing always remains a matter of uncertainty. Mommsen, on the other hand, needs this textual alteration to reach the conclusion: 'So we must look for the battlefield north of the Lippe, east of the Ems'!! As soon as the great Mommsen casually disregarded the ancient tradition, the others no longer deemed it necessary to engage seriously with it.

The battle has now been relocated to every conceivable site where Roman fortifications and archaeological finds, points of comparison and similar-sounding place names could be found. Naturally, each new hypothesis completely overturned all the previous ones, and the only outcome was ever-increasing confusion. For the most part, people behaved as though the old tradition—with its well-attested Teutoburg and its entirely unblemished consistency of all relevant historical, military, geographical and topographical circumstances, as well as the archaeological findings—did not exist at all, or they blamed Fürstenberg.

I own over a dozen monographs on the Battle of Varus, including the Henke-Lehmann overview, and have read many others. As far as my knowledge

extends, I see nothing but superficiality in the treatment to which an invaluable part of our Germanic tradition, along with the individual artefacts that speak in its favour, must submit. Henke-Lehmann, for no reason whatsoever, seek to brand the world-traveller Klüver (Cluverius) as a local patriot and inventor of the Teutoburg Forest through a disparaging remark, and call it nonsense that the entire mountain range has come to bear the name Teutoburg Forest. We, too, regret this, but the nonsense lies with those who took the justification for suppressing the Teutoburg-Grotenburg from such a countless and common occurrence in the history of place-names.

It is incomprehensible with what nonchalance one contradicted the geographical basis of the whole question presented to us by historical sources, namely that the battle took place

1. between the lands of the Marsi and the Cherusci
2. between the lands of the Bructeri and the Cherusci.

Even so, the battle can only have taken place in the area around Grotenburg-Teutoburg, where the borders of these tribes converge. The sources are best compiled and discussed in Neubourg's short treatise, which is of paramount importance for these questions and is indispensable simply for its reports on finds, yet seems to be entirely unknown to the editors.

According to Tacitus, the final catastrophe of the Varian defeat took place in the 'Ilouto-burmensls galtua', that is, in a mountain forest situated near a Teutoburg, and not near a Dütebach or the like. There is (apart from the Teutoburg in Hungary, which is not under consideration) only one castle that can lay claim to the ancient name of Teutoburg, namely the Teutoburg-Grotenburg near Detmold. What the hypotheses, intended to undermine the ancient tradition, present as evidence has been cobbled together retrospectively.

Even the latest studies by Kreye and Prein succumb to the temptation to claim the Battle of Varus as firmly within their field of research. Kreye situates the battle on the Deister, citing Mommsen, who boldly locates the name Il'sutobur-mensis snltus in the Wiehengebirge. Prein hastily disregards the ancient tradition and the facts on which it is based, thereby undermining his otherwise valuable work by, in a convoluted connection with the Birkenbaum legend, forcing a link to the area around Werl (Büderich), because 15 km to the west, near and behind Unna, there are boundary ramparts also known as Tüten or Teilten. That must then have been the louto-bureionsis saltus!

What, then, of the objections to the old tradition? Whenever it is claimed that it was Bishop Ferdinand von Fürstenberg who first introduced the name Teutoburg Forest around the year 1672, this is incorrect and must be regarded as a misrepresentation. As early as 60 years earlier, Piderit and Klüver had known and referred to the forest near Detmold as 'leutoburmei^is snltaa'. Unfortunately, Fürstenberg extended the name on his map far too far along the mountain range

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i Neubourg, site of the Battle of Varus, Meyers Hosbuchhandlung, 1887. Similarly: Wilms, The Main Campaign in Germania, Hamburg, Herold, 1909. - PH. Cluverius, Lcrmrnirc Lneiguac Ilbri III. Pideritius, Lbronilron comirsru- lüppisc, Rinteln 1627.

(Fig. 68), whereby the designation of the entire 100 km-long mountain range stretching as far as Osnabrück as the Teutoburg Forest has become customary. Fürstenberg expressly states that the forest is so named ‘here’, that is, in Paderborn and Münster. The name does not, therefore, originate with him; it was already well known.

Moreover, the existence and name of the Teutoburg do not depend on whether someone at any time chose to name a mountain range after it. The entire objection would have to be regarded as a mockery of the thoughtless, were it not for the fact that there are so many otherwise sensible people who allow themselves to be innocently misled by the objection. It would therefore have been better if the Bishop of Paderborn, who, incidentally, has an impeccable reputation as a reliable, cautious and knowledgeable historian, had left the entire mountain range with its valuable old name Osning — Asenegge — and had named only the forest immediately surrounding the Teutoburg after it.

There is no objection to the fact that battlefields from the 30-year Roman wars have been identified near Werl, Kneblinghausen, Jburg, on the Plackweg, etc., and perhaps also near Barenau and on the Deister; after all, there were 40 Roman forts on the Rhine alone. But none of the battlefields identified was the Varian battlefield, except for the one near the Teutoburg Forest.

The Lippe region is the land of the Teutoburg Mountains and sites, that is, the ‘people’s mountains’ with which this name remains associated to this day. It is the only area in which this name is found in this way. Here we still find the name at Hellinghausen, Wiembeck, Holzhausen, near Almena, in the Donau Valley, near Humfeld-Alverdissen and near Detmold.

Everywhere, it was the mountains that gave their names to the farms situated on their slopes. The clearest evidence that ‘Teut’ can simply be the name of a mountain – and remains so to this day – is provided by ‘der Leut’ near Humseld and Alverdissen. (In Huntfeld — 1284 Honevelde — Huno, the Hundred-man Captain who last held office at Teut, has passed down his official title as a surname to the present day.) — In the Donoper Valley, the forest district of Teut must be named after the wonderful folk mountain situated there. — Near Holzhausen, an old map records a Teutberg. According to Preuß, the colonate of Tödtmann in Holzhausen (1650 Teuthenrich) possesses a ‘plot of land called the Tödtberg’. I have visited the hill; it bears the strongest indications of having been artificially shaped into a ‘Volksberg’. Preuß, who otherwise mostly erroneously derives place names from surnames, must in this case concede the reverse, ‘since the other hills in the region bearing the name Teut are simply called Teut and not Teutberg’.

The situation regarding the Teutberge near Detmold, which is of particular interest to us here, is especially striking: the Hermann Monument has been placed on the Bandel ridge with great skill.

‘Twe Hus to dem Toyte’, situated on the Grotenburg hill, are mentioned several times in the 13th and 16th centuries. Ter Meier, on one of these two farms—namely the main farm—was formerly known as Teutemeier and is still called Tötemeier today. The owner of the farm in 1373 was Nolte to dem Toyte, a Prussian. Die lippischen Familiennamen, Mcyersche Hosbuchhandlung, Detmold 1887, p. 47.

later referred to as Hermann in the Toyte; the crossroads next to the farmstead is called Töterdreh; the head forester's lodge in the Heidental valley at the foot of the Grotenburg was also a Teuthof, and among the present-day inhabitants of Hiddesen beneath the Grotenburg, the area on the eastern slope of the hill is known as 'im Teut'. Where the

Bishop Fürsten-

Fig. 63. Map of the area around the Teuteberg (17th century). North is to the right

If the reader wishes to see the Leutberg in the Loutobureienais Saltus that he knew of, he should consult the small map No. 63, which shows its location with all the desired precision between 'Dethmold' (on the River Werre) and Winfelde. Note the peculiar, to me incomprehensible cross-shaped mark which the bishop has placed between the names Teuteberg, Osterholt and Hestenbecker Dorf. It is precisely the site of the Oesterholzer Laue (north of the point between the sources of the Lippe and Ems, where Fürstenberg, on his map of tribal seats [Fig. 681

). Could he still have been aware of the significance of this place?
If a mountain is called ‘Teut’ and there is a large castle on its summit, is there really any point in desperately searching for a Teutoburg somewhere else? Anyone who, in the face of all these facts and evidence, wishes to ‘properly acknowledge that the Grotenburgberg is not rightly regarded as the bearer of the ancient name Teut’ must be influenced by stubborn opinions that stand in the way of the objectivity of their judgement.
I must not fail to draw the attention of experts in early medieval source studies in particular to the passage in the *Llonu-meuts. Lackerbornsnaia, which Fürstenberg appended to his remarks on the leütoburm'onsis saltus as No. 11, stating that the forest was already called ‘Theutwald’ at the time the Frankish Annals were written. Despite its significance, the passage is m.
W. has so far gone completely unnoticed, even by Pertz, the editor of the Annales Germaniae, probably because the other editions of the Annals use the word ‘Theutmalli’ instead of ‘Theutwaldi’. The matter is all the more striking given that Pertz himself acknowledges the Vienna manuscript, which reads ‘Theilt-waldi’ and which evidently formed the basis for the other sources mentioned in this passage, as being old and relatively reliable. The passage reads in Micus’s translation: ‘In the year 783. The Frankish Annals in Pithäus, Astronomus in Nauberus, Regina in the Chronicle, Poeta Anonymus in Book I, and the Canisian Annals state it thus: ‘King Charles marched through parts of Saxony, because the Saxons had taken up arms again, and arrived with a small force of Franks at Theutwalde (in Latin: UmotvvaIcki); there the Saxons were preparing for battle on the plain’ etc. Then:
“Theotwaldi,” he says, “as if he were referring to Leutenberg or 1outobureien8l8” (Ringel, p. 43).
According to the research devoted to the matter by Prof. Anemüller-Detmold, it is no longer possible to gain complete clarity regarding the origin of the variant reading. Towards the end of the 17th century, however, Fürstenberg, that archivist of the first rank, examined the passage most carefully, or had it examined, otherwise he would not have conspicuously cited 5 (!) sources that give the reading “Theutwaldi”. Fürstenberg’s final conclusion was that the name ‘Theutwald’ was in use for the forest near Detmold during the Carolingian period, when the annals were written—that is, in our earliest historical period.
This testimony lends the Bishop of Paderborn’s prestige and honour even greater weight in the balance regarding the Teutoburg Forest than has hitherto been recognised. Who would claim that Fürstenberg merely paraded the five sources?
But we can do without this testimony. The evidence for the Teutoburg near Detmold is conclusive in any case.
The castle situated on the summit of a mountain named Teut is the Teutoburg; Ulm Minster is not located anywhere else, but in Ulm.
But how did this vexing situation arise, whereby the ‘Teut’ name of this

Is it not the case that the name ‘Berg’ is no longer in common use, but that people are content with the name ‘Gratenburg’, which is quite unsuitable for such a magnificent mountain? The reason for this is quite straightforward to explain.

Because, on this Teutoburg Hill, in addition to the mighty folk castle that encircled the summit, there was also a smaller castle—though in itself certainly imposing—known as the ‘Little Giant’s Ring’, the local people, when referring to the large castle on the hilltop, simply called it ‘Grote Borg’ to distinguish it. This is how it came to be that the name Grotenburg, and not the name Teutoburg, became the common one. But this abbreviated form of speech does not alter the mountain’s ancient Teutoburg name. It is the same process as when a town, which is unrivalled as the centre of the wider surrounding area, is not called by its name by the local inhabitants, but simply ‘the town’, without thereby losing its actual name. So too was the Teutoburg unrivalled as the great fortress. But it remained Teutoburg nonetheless. Whether the ‘o’ was inserted by Tacitus in a Latinising manner, or was part of the Germanic name, is irrelevant. Nor can it be ascertained, because the Latin-educated Middle Ages used all names in Latin form wherever possible. Such fading of names can no longer occur in modern times, because the written recording of all things and the general need for communication in the flow of traffic prevail over the linguistic laziness of the local inhabitants.

And now for the other, no less valid objection to the traditional view: that too few supporting archaeological finds have been made in the area around Grotenburg.

It would be desirable for those gentlemen who speak and write about the location of the Varian defeat to be able to provide a frankly satisfactory answer to my following questions.

Do the researchers take into account the existing reports and inventories of finds, and have they ever critically examined the manner in which the evidence from the quite significant surface finds of earlier centuries has been treated and set aside?

Neubourg reports, partly in detail and partly summarily, on a large number of conclusive finds that were ploughed up or ‘excavated’ (i.e. deliberate investigations!) in the 16th and 17th centuries in the area around Grotenburg, particularly on the
“Winnefelde”, were ploughed up or “excavated” (i.e. deliberate excavations!). One
“Read about them on page 49 of his booklet, which is otherwise indispensable for questions concerning the Battle of Varus. If these finds share the fate of most finds from earlier times and have, for the most part, been lost, so that we are reliant on trusting the accuracy of the reports, then all those concerned with the pursuit of truth should at least recognise the danger of disregarding and suppressing them. The aforementioned Minfeld has long been regarded as one of the main theatres of the battle. Very recently, General Haenichen has examined the entire scope of the questions surrounding the Battle of Varus from a historical and military perspective, particularly from his standpoint as a fortress builder and expert on defensive works. He too concludes that, following the sealing off of the Dörenschlucht, the Heidental, the road via Berlebeck, Gauseköte and Winfeld, and the road via Horn and Feldrom were

retreat routes. Furthermore, the number and nature of Roman finds in this area are certainly noteworthy.

I would like to draw attention to the major discovery of horseshoes in Horn in the last century, which went largely unnoticed and still awaits proper recognition. The records relating to this are still available in the four horseshoes kept in Horn Town Hall and in other files. I quote from A. Schierenberg's report: '...on this occasion (namely during the construction of drainage channels in Horn in 1868), a large quantity of small horseshoes were found at a depth of six feet or more... The workers told me that so many horseshoes had been found that they had taken them to the scrap dealer in wheelbarrows and sold them for scrap metal... However, the final section of the channels was still open, so that the excavated soil was still lying nearby, and I was able to gather up the remaining ones, as isolated horseshoes, which had been covered with earth again, were still coming to light. I collected a number of these; of these, perhaps eight pieces may still be in existence, and some may well have been lost during my move to Frankfurt, but all those still in existence in Münster, Detmold, etc., were, as far as I know, collected by me. Other iron objects were also found, most of which had already been taken away... I have already presented the horseshoes at the recent General Assembly of the Antiquarian Societies, where they were, of course, recognised as Roman by members from southern Germany; however, as the view still prevailed at that time that the Romans did not use horseshoes for their horses, the matter was not considered further. In recent years, however, the discovery of these horseshoes has gained significance, since the excavations at Saalburg near Homburg have resolved the horseshoe question in the affirmative, with more than a hundred undoubtedly Roman horseshoes having come to light there. When, in 1883, a side canal was dug once more in Horn, a number of horseshoes were found again—reportedly 15–20—one of which was collected by Pastor Wolf, a second by Camerarius Geise, and handed over to me, along with horse teeth and a wheel nail. When I returned to Horn a few weeks ago, work had just begun there on laying a water pipe; on the very first section, however, three more horseshoes of the same type as those from the earlier find came to light, which are now also in my possession. I am told that a further 8–10 pieces have been found since then, and there is a prospect that further interesting finds will be made.... I have repeatedly compared the five horseshoes in my possession with those found at Saalburg, and have also shown them to Mr Jakoby, the master builder who is directing the excavations at Saalburg. He has repeatedly stated that, in his opinion, they are undoubtedly of Roman origin. In my opinion, these horseshoes found in and around Horn belong to the remains of Varus's army, which perished there in the year 9 AD and which, according to the accounts of Florus, Dios, Velleius and Lacitus, must have perished near the summer camp. I assume that these horseshoes belonged either to the pack animals that carried the army's baggage, or to the cavalry of Vala Nummonius, of whom Velleius U. 19 relates that he sought to use the Neite-

'Preserved in manuscript form: Berlin XV 50, Ranlestr. 25. ° Schierenberg, Die Kriege der Römer, Frankfurt am Main, Reitz und Koehler 1888.

'to flee towards the Rhine, but was overtaken by fate... Thus I hope that... the question of the location of the Battle of Varus will finally be settled.' So far Schierenberg.
In “Tiermann’s Reports on the Town of Horn”, available for consultation at the Horn Town Council, on page 366 ff., the following remark is found: “The coins of Roman emperors and nobles found here in the ground, together with the horseshoes discovered, confirm this” (namely, the Roman battles at this site).

Fig. 61. Aölkchals in the Heidental

In 1913, Prof. Norbert-Gütersloh took the matter seriously and arranged for an expert opinion to be sought from Building Officer Jakobh in Homburg an der Hesse. On 29 November 1910, the latter wrote from the Saalburg Museum to the Magistrate in Horn: ‘I enclose the three horseshoes with the most respectful observation that they are, in all probability, Roman. That is, insofar as I have been able to compare them with our horseshoes. However, whether their small forms and the distinctive studs – which, according to our findings, do indeed represent the oldest types – also occurred in Lower Germany in the early Middle Ages is beyond my judgement. As yet, there is still a lack of conclusive evidence for a definitive classification of the horseshoes, including from the early Middle Ages.” Signed Jakobh, Royal Building Councillor.
The conclusion remains, in any case, that the horseshoes are most likely of Roman origin and may date from the Battle of Varus. This

possibility is of the utmost importance, because Horn's history knows of no other occasion on which such a large number of horses could have lost their horseshoes in a marshy area, apart from the Battle of Varus. As reported, Haenichen also considers it probable that Nummonius attempted to save himself with his cavalry on the road to Horn. Their hasty flight led them into the marshy area.

It is also worth mentioning a find of iron in and around the stream at a gorge-like section of the Heidental, where one must cross the Heidenbach to reach the Wahr-wegsgrund (towards Winfeld). The stream bears the peculiar name 'Bölkehals' here ('bölken' refers to the cries of animals and humans). There are more than 100 pieces and fragments, ranging from misshapen lumps of iron to well-preserved pieces, which show that these are uniform remnants of collapsed carts from a time when, instead of the present-day tyres, short, heavy nails with large heads (4×4 mm) were used to protect the tyres. Among the pieces is also a third of a horseshoe, the shape of which corresponds exactly to the illustration provided by Neuburger* on page 55, captioned 'Ancient Roman horseshoe'. If the partially waterlogged ground of the 50–100 m long site were excavated to a sufficient depth, a much greater number of such surface finds would likely come to light. According to the experts consulted, it has not yet been possible to determine with certainty either the origin or the date of manufacture of the iron fragments. However, given our understanding of Varus's retreat routes, it stands to reason, at this most difficult point in the Heidental for a military detachment—where, moreover, there are mysterious ramparts (Fig. 61)— it is also worth considering the possibility that these were wagons from the Roman supply train which broke down here, and in such great numbers that not all the pieces of what was then valuable iron were found by the Germanic tribes. Of the wheel rims of the Assyrians and Egyptians, Neuburger^ says: 'They originally consisted of densely hammered-in nails, whose adjoining heads covered the wooden wheel rims in a scale-like manner.' Among the other ancient peoples, the situation was certainly no different; but we know that nails were still used alongside the rims for the 'nadschuh' many centuries after the birth of Christ. The embankments in the Bölkehals show signs of having been mounded up, suggesting they may have been burial mounds. However, no bone finds are to be expected in the soil.

The finds at Horn and in the Bölkehals are exceptional cases. Moreover, one would expect even fewer finds—at least on the surface and at a depth still reachable by the plough—on the Varus battlefield than on other ancient battlefields, where, even after several decades, astonishingly little is usually found, provided it does not involve projectiles from modern weapons. Consequently,
, for example, no evidence has yet been produced as to the exact location near Detmold where the battle between the Franks and the Saxons took place in the year 780, although there can be no doubt that it occurred near Detmold.

There is no place in the German fatherland that has been explored with even remotely the same level of interest and thoroughness in earlier times by historically minded, and certainly often resourceful, people as the sites commemorating the Battle of Varus. In this regard, we must also consider, above all, the period immediately following the battle itself

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Neuburger, Technik des Altertums, pp. 213–215.

to think. Since the battlefield—after the useful parts had been removed from the Roman corpses—was initially left to the scavenging birds, from which we may infer its remoteness from human settlements, and once the Germanic migrations had passed, we have no reason to assume anything other than that the people from the various allied tribes, gathering several times a year for the communal festivals at Osning, diligently visited the memorable sites of their men's battles and found no tangible

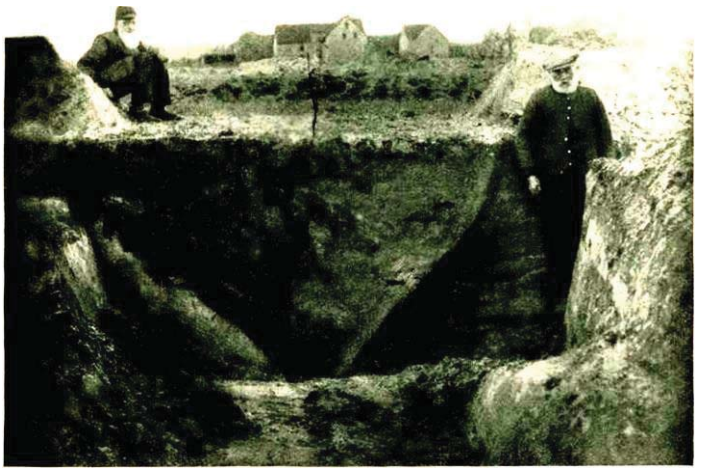

Fig. 65. Roman spindle whorl (Heidenoldendorf)

souvenir, so that all later surface finds could only be made at otherwise neglected secondary sites or were due to particular strokes of luck. Or does one wish to deny our ancestors of that time the feelings of piety and remembrance associated with this? This is the situation, improved for us enthusiasts of Germanic prehistory by the findings of science, that we can move beyond such backwardness, which has nothing to do with science.

After all, some things may have ended up deeper beneath the surface, whether through burial or through the well-known natural causes of water, wind and vegetation.

Moreover, these are the remains and traces of the fortifications which, according to historical sources, were situated near or within the battlefield. Both are the subject of excavations. A very large

number of ancient fortifications exist in the vicinity of the Teutoburg Forest and are recognised as such — above all the barriers blocking the passes.

However, if, through similar excavations—such as those undertaken at considerable expense in other locations, in other regions, for different or similar purposes—anything of substance were still to be unearthed on the battlefield sought near Teutoburg, — in any case, when assessing the ancient tradition of the Battle of Varus in comparison with the new hypotheses, the most crucial question is whether sufficient excavation and searching has been carried out around the Teutoburg-Grotenburg with the same level of effort, and whether one must now conclude from the fruitless search that the desired evidence does not exist. It is well known that such excavations, undertaken and carried out by competent and expert authorities, have never taken place. The fact that such an undertaking might face excessive difficulties due to the extent and nature of the area under consideration, so that no blame may be attached to the authorities to whom such a task would have fallen in the past or present, does not alter the judgement:

If, due to the lack of the desired quantity or quality of numismatic finds in the

To claim that evidence found in the vicinity of Teutoburg Forest refutes the ancient folk tradition regarding the site of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest is a superficial assertion that does not do justice to the facts.

I do not wish to offend any of the representatives of the opposing view, whom I hold in high esteem and who defend their cause with such great dedication and care, but I must not hold back in expressing my opinion:

. In certain areas, there is also a limit to the right to express private opinions in public when such views can never hope to gain general acceptance and when their success can only serve to increase confusion. In our case, this is already ensured by the irreconcilable diversity of hypotheses. As things stand, replacing the old tradition with a modern hypothesis, however numerous the finds or even the minor discoveries may be, is simply impossible. In any case, let us, the friends of Germanic prehistory—among whom I count myself, and on behalf of the majority of whom I speak here—address this request to you: Treat the well-founded and valuable tradition of our people with care, caution and consideration! We, however, are convinced—and I believe I have provided sufficient grounds for this conviction—that the Loutodursionals 8-rltus roars nowhere else but around the Grotenburg—Teutoburg, and sadly shakes its crowns over all such undertakings.

Privy Councillor Dr Dörrenberg-Soest, author of ‘Nömerspnren’, has searched earnestly for the site of Varus’s battle in the Teutoburg Forest. The result of his years of work—unfortunately hindered by inflation from being fully realised—is his thesis that Varus’s camp (and close by the

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* To the best of my knowledge, neither Stamford’s nor Dörrenberg’s undertaking received any financial support or active involvement from the academic community or the authorities. – Theodor Weicher, Leipzig 1909.

camp of Germanicus) was situated in Heidenoldendorf and the adjoining woodland heath, just a few hundred metres away from the thing site I have identified (No. 28 on the overview map). The fact that the Romans were there is demonstrated by Dörrenberg primarily through the discovery of a pointed ditch over 1.70 metres deep with a cross-section that could only have been a Roman ditch. This single piece of evidence suffices for our inquiry. For the presence of a Roman army at this site can only be explained by the name of Varus and the discovery of a lead bullet casing on the battlefield, which is regarded as Roman, , as well as ramparts which are plausibly identified as associated Roman camp ramparts. An Augustan coin was found not far from there in the Pivits Heath and Roman pottery shards were found beneath the north-eastern slope of the Grotenburg (Fig. 6l>).

It gives me particular pleasure that Dörrenberg has authorised me to publish the photograph of the Spih-graben (Fig. 05). It clearly shows, on the right and left, the natural soil in contrast to the disturbed soil with which the Spitzgraben has been filled in. For the archaeologist , , there can be no doubt that this ditch was dug out by . It now appears likely that following the inspection of the site, in which the Provincial Conservator, Government and Building Officer Vollpracht and School Inspector Schwanold took part, which will resume the interrupted excavations.

linked to Germania. In addition, there is the

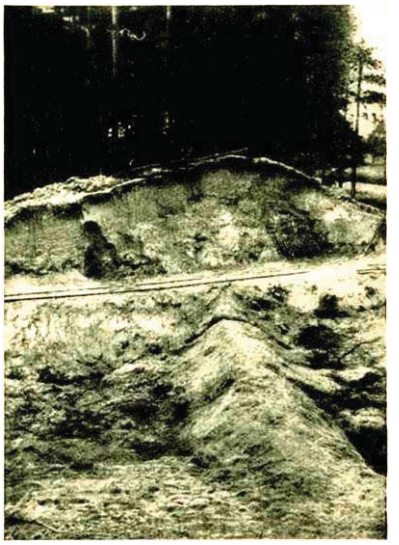

Fig. 66. Dune over a rampart (Heidenoldendorf»

We witnessed a fine confirmation of Törrenberg's correct interpretation in the summer of 1929; when a perfectly straight dune, which Dörrenberg had described as an artificial continuation of a lagercwall, was excavated, the natural (aeolian) origin of the dune was indeed revealed, but beneath the dune, a clay wall was clearly brought to light as the basis for its formation! I present this instructive image (Fig. 66), which also illustrates the difference in the angle of inclination of an aeolian dune on the side facing away from the wind and on the side facing it (cf. p. 137). It is a well-known fact that sand dunes can form over a period of 2,000 years.

We would like to ask the archaeologists and historians who have studied the presence of the Romans in Germania to confirm the existence of the Roman-

the Roman camp ditch at Heidenoldendorf; to establish that, if a Roman army did indeed camp at this site, according to our historical knowledge it could only have been Varus's army, and, a few years later, the army of Germania; to inform the public of the significance of this find in definitively clarifying the question of the location of the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest.

If we consider my hypothesis that the great assembly site of Theotmalli is to be found on the slopes of these mountains in the light of this finding from Dörrenberg's work, then the consistent accounts of all three Roman writers who wrote about Varus's judicial activities — Velleius Paterculus, Cassius Dio and Florus — also take on considerable significance for determining the location of the Battle of Varus.

Velleius says that Varus lived under the delusion that he could deal with the Germans through legal proceedings and spent the summer administering justice to them and conducting proper court hearings before his bench: 'The Germans feigned before Varus a whole series of fabricated legal disputes.' — Cassius Dio emphasises that Varus, as the highest administrative official, ruled by depriving the princes of their rights and the masses of the customary order of things, and that the Germans had pretended to submit to all his commands. — Florus, however, reports succinctly on the event corresponding to this situation, which was then followed by the outbreak of revolt: "Varus undertook to hold a council meeting … The Germans fell upon him, who suspected nothing of the sort, whilst he was in the very act of summoning the parties before his tribunal."

Where did Varus's judge's seat stand, before which he was accused of a whole series of fabricated legal disputes? Where did he offend the masses by interfering with the established order of things? It is highly probable that Varus did not pitch his camp at some arbitrary, insignificant spot, but rather at a large, publicly recognised assembly and court site, where he could best project the image of the new lord and conduct himself as the supreme judge. Perhaps it was part of Hermann's stratagem to induce Varus to cross the mountains and display the splendour of his supremacy at the district assembly at Theotmalli.

Even if the assumption of Dr H. Schmidt and General Haenichen is correct, namely that Varus's camp was a number of kilometres further north-west near Schötmar, and that Germanicus camped near Heidenoldendorf for the purpose of searching the battlefield, this does not alter our assessment.

The fact that such an important factor has hitherto been overlooked in the search for the site of the Variani camp can probably be explained by the fact that no attempt has yet been made to identify the thing site. However, research into the thing site is by no means a lost cause. The numerous points of view compiled by E. v. Wecus will prove of great service, and the location I have proposed will likewise prove suitable for tracing the whereabouts of many a thing site.

The combination of Dörrenberg's, Haenichen-Schmidt's and my own thesis—according to which the Varus camp was not far from the Cherusci and Angrivari's tribal assembly site—when viewed in the light of further evidence from Roman writings—

If we take into account the individual accounts reported by Sielcrn and analyse the issue from historical, military, geological and topographical perspectives, we should be able to present a historically and geographically accurate and satisfactory picture of the Germanic peoples' victorious uprising against the Romans. Hopefully we shall receive it soon. But even without it, the tradition remains intact.
For my part, I would like to point out that the two Heidenoldendorf sites are situated 3½ km away, lying in front of the Heidental. Through the Heidental

Fig. 7. The Heidental below the Teutoburg

The next route led there, but it was a dangerous path through marshes, gorges and over ravines to Winfelde, then on to Lippspringe and a place called Aliso situated somewhere on the River Lippe, as described in the Roman accounts. A side valley that is now impassable, almost impassable, the
The "Wahrwegs" site, with its sections of well-worn parallel paths and its very name, bears witness to the fact that it once served as a link between the Heidental valley and the Hangstein. It was only after being alerted by a professor—who is otherwise of a critical disposition—that I realised "Wahrwcg" might echo the name Varus. Nearby, outside the forest, lie scattered farmsteads, one of which is mentioned in old documents as 'Wahrwcg'. Since the Wahrwegsgrund belongs to the manorial forest, there must be peculiar old connections linking this Hans to the Wahrwcg. I have reported above on the iron find in the Bölkehals between Heidental and Wahrwegsgrnnd.

This was likely Hermann's strategic masterstroke: he blocked the Roman army's path through the Törenschlucht gorge and forced Varus into the fateful predicament of ordering a retreat through the Vergwald forest, which is 10 km wide at this point. Similarly, the 'war trenches' on the Ufler of a former blockage of the path to Lopshorn.

The Heidental, which in the now almost forgotten popular memory was associated with the battlefield, lies directly below the south-western slope of the Grotenburg and is therefore "Il'eutobursiensis Laltua" in the truest sense of the word. Its name has nothing to do with "heathland", as, unlike many places in the surrounding area, there is no heathland to be found there a n d probably never has been. Rather, the name may be connected with "Heddern" — meaning 'strangers' — as in Heddernheim near Frankfurt am Main. Nor was the village of Heiden, 4 km north of Heidenoldendorf, where Dörrenberg also claims to find Nömerwälle (outposts for the main camp?), ever a heathland and has no heathland; on the other hand, it has a farmstead called 'Hedderhagen', so that we can assert with some certainty the identity of Heiden and Heddern. This would also shed light on Heidenoldendorf itself, whose name is in turn unsuitable for this discussion, as there is genuine heathland there. Such geological and topographical findings, which are particularly valuable in this region, require even more careful analysis and will then be of considerable significance for the settlement history of the region and also for questions of military history relating to the Roman period.

The origin of the word 'Heide' — meaning 'non-Christian' — is likely to be related to the above considerations and can be explained by the fact that somewhere an older population had not yet converted to Christianity, so that 'Hedder' (stranger) could become a 'non-Christian' (pasanus) — a designation which then became common.

I am therefore pleased to be able to bring the 'Heidental' of ancient folklore—situated beneath the ruins of Teutoburg, which Schuchhardt has once again identified as such—seriously into the discussions surrounding the Battle of Varus and to encourage its investigation. To my knowledge, no such investigation has yet taken place in any significant way. As mentioned, there are significant reports of finds from earlier centuries at Winfelde. The only question regarding these is whether one wishes to accuse the chroniclers of that era of lying and deceit.

The forests of Grotenburg formed part of the extensive, contiguous forest area between Dörenschlucht and Horn, over which the logging rights of Oesterholz and Vraunenbruch extended. This leads us to the conclusion that the large, shared territory of the surrounding Germanic tribes also encompassed the Teutoburg Forest. The sheer size and layout of this folk fortress also justify such an assumption.

The scale of the complex becomes even more impressive when the remains of a stone wall recorded by Schuchhardt, op. cit., at the foot of the Bergwald indicate an enclosure that once surrounded the entire mountain with its two castles.

If we wish to imagine the castle's former practical use, we need look no further than military purposes or even a 'refuge castle'

think. Nor can the Teutoburg Forest be conceived of without a significant sanctuary of the multifaceted religion of our ancestors.

The mighty stone enclosure was one of the ways in which our forefathers, just as the Egyptians and Babylonians did in their own way with pyramids and towers, sought to honour the deity and to set apart and mark out its places.

A mountain path leading from the Externsteine to the Teutoburg Forest bears the name Peterstieg. During the period of Christianisation, the combative Saint Peter was frequently placed in the position that Donar had occupied in the popular imagination. Their names have been interchanged countless times. Might the Peterstieg not originally have been a Donarstieg?

Tacitus reports that, during his visit to the Varian battlefield, Germanicus also saw the earthen pits (sorodss) in which the Roman prisoners were initially held and guarded. Even if such pits could only hold a few hundred prisoners, they must nevertheless have been large enough that their traces can hardly have been completely obliterated. Attention must therefore be paid to the proximity of such pits when searching for the Varian battlefield. There are several naturally large caves in the limestone hills of the Osning that may have served to house prisoners, particularly between Horn and Altenbeken. But they were so far away that Germanicus would scarcely have visited them, unless the battlefield had been in the vicinity of Horn; and even then, visiting them would still have required effort and time. It is more likely that the pits were situated closer to the camp. In any case, it is noteworthy that the Hiddeser Berg has a striking number of small quarries, from which poor-quality stone for road construction is extracted, as well as other pits that may well have served to hold prisoners. Naturally, one cannot say more; but areas where no traces of such pits can be found lose credibility in comparison to places where they do exist .

Roman writers lead us to believe that the prisoners were kept in the pits to endure agonising torment. It is worth examining this question more closely and questioning the credibility of the Cologne writers.

Regarding the prisoners of the Battle of Varus, we have two highly interesting accounts from Cassius Dio and the philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca, which Woyte (Sources etc. III. Voigtländer, Leipzig) cites. Cassius Dio: “Some of the prisoners were later ransomed by their relatives and were able to leave Germania, but only on condition that they lived outside Italy.” Seneca: “Through Varus’s defeat, many from the highest ranks, who regarded military service as a stepping stone to the senate, were brought crashing down by fate. Some were reduced to shepherds, others to household slaves.”

* Hungerland, Traces of Old Germanic Worship, Osnabrück 1924, p. 215. — Erich Jung, Germanic Gods and Heroes in Christian Times. I. F. Lehmann, Munich 1922, pp. 219 ff. - Ttüroria Romana I.V7, 22, 4.

We learn from this:

1. There can be no question whatsoever of the immediate killing or gradual sacrifice of all prisoners.
2. Not even the officers ‘of the highest rank’ fell victim to the Germanic mob’s fury, even though they were primarily responsible for the Roman atrocities in Germania. Velleius Paterculus himself writes of these that the Romans had ‘at all times slaughtered the Germans like cattle, so that their life and death depended solely on Roman mercy and caprice.’ It is entirely plausible that, after the battle, retribution was taken against individuals who had distinguished themselves particularly through cruelty and shameful treatment.
3. The prisoners of war were classified as slaves, who at that time were required to perform menial tasks among all peoples.
4. It was possible to ransom the prisoners, but even in the case of the nobility this did not always happen, because it was up to the relatives to pay the ransom.
5. The ransom appears to have been high following the Battle of Varus, as only a few were released; Dio mentions a few, whilst Annæus knows of none at all, even though he witnessed the period following the Battle of Varus in Nom as a young man. By contrast, it seems the ransom following the Battle of the Angrivari Wall was a small one. A large number were ransomed because the ‘tribes of the interior’ were evidently overwhelmed with Roman prisoners. This can be inferred from Tacitus’s thoroughly untruthful and contradictory account (Ann. II, 23–24).
6. The prisoners were no longer allowed to be seen in Italy, let alone in Nom. That was the condition under which the Kingdom of Nom permitted their ransom and the necessary mediation through its authorities. It is not the Germanic tribes who set the condition, in their own interest, that the freed men should remain in Italy and no longer fight against Germania — a condition that is not unusual — but Nom does not want any prisoners who have been in Germania to be in Italy!

   How can this striking statement be explained? There is only one possible explanation: in Italy, the truth about the military operations and the conditions found in Germania was not to be spread by the prisoners. The officially accepted view that the Germanic peoples were barbarians, inferior and deserving of extermination, was to remain. Prisoners, who as domestic slaves gained a far deeper insight into the people’s way of life than the merchants at market towns and in inns, could — as had already been experienced — paint a very different picture; they could describe the people as friendly, civilised folk on a par with the Romans, and that was undesirable; they might even consider the Germanic log houses more pleasant than the Roman stone houses, and the fields, gardens and forests just as beautiful; than the barren mountains of Italy, and that autumn and winter in Germania had their own beauty too. In short, there were many things there that could paint a friendly and respectable picture of Germania. And

That was not to be. And for many, it is still not to be even today. We saw something similar after the wars, when prisoners of war returning to France were forbidden to speak of their experiences.

We must form a different picture of the fate and treatment of prisoners in Germania than we have had hitherto. They became slaves; that was simply the way of things in the Ancient World. But for the rest, no people will have surpassed the Germanic peoples in their humane treatment of prisoners, as is still the case today. Horrific reports were fabricated back then just as they were in 1914–1918, and doubly or triply so when directed against the Germanic peoples or Germans.

With these words, I would also like to help clear away the rubble and uncover a sanctuary: the Germanic spirit, of which we are—or at least ought to be—the heirs.

14. Sought-after sanctuaries

Once the meaning of a few hieroglyphs had been correctly identified, the decipherment of the entire script soon followed. Whoever holds the master key in their hand finds more than one door opening. A good light shines even into dark corners.

Let us assume for a moment that it was the right path to take when we were led from the Exterir stones to Oesterholz, from Oesterholz to the sacred Nossen of Lopshorner, and from the sacred Rossen to the Nennbahn in Langelau and the hill sanctuary of the Oesterholzer Mark

Then, at Lippequellen and Osning, we have a cluster of significant sanctuaries whose importance extends beyond the local area. We have arrived at the idea, which has been raised for consideration on several occasions, that this was the main site for the surrounding tribes' shared religious and cultural institutions.

When, 50 years ago, A. Schierenberg recognised the significance of the Osning region for Germanic history – albeit all too heavily influenced and constrained by the notion of it being the setting for the Eddas – he, who possessed a knowledge of the area that completely eclipsed all his opponents, was dismissed with the convenient accusation that he was a deluded local patriot. Wässerbach, Clostermeier, Veltmann, Stamford, Neubourg and others suffered a similar fate, albeit not quite so severely. If I am not mistaken, other experts on this region have refrained from speaking up for the men mentioned, out of fear of meeting the same fate.

But should the concern that the value of a precise understanding of all relevant circumstances and locations might be stifled by accusations of parochialism lead us to withhold information that could aid the search for the truth? And in our particular case, does not the overall picture gain in inner truth the more rounded and complete it appears before our eyes? 'If matters in this country stand as I have endeavoured to set out, is it not permissible to ask whether such knowledge might not also shed light on other local issues that have hitherto remained obscure? Every suitable piece added to the picture not only contributes to the clarification of the whole, but also facilitates the discovery of the missing parts, just as is the case with children's jigsaw puzzles. It seems to me that Tanfana and Marklo are pieces that belong here.

Tanfana

In the autumn of the year 14 AD, the Roman campaigns under Germanicus—which had been carefully prepared over the preceding five years—began with an incursion into the territory of the Marsi: an incursion that the Germanic tribes had certainly anticipated, but which they no longer expected at such a late stage of the year. These were the days of the great Germanic harvest and autumn festivities, during which, as Tacitus (Annals I 51) reports, the population had given itself over to peaceful tranquillity or had gathered for 'feasting and merrymaking'. 12,000 legionaries, 26 cohorts of allied troops and 8 cavalry squadrons were assembled at Xanten across the Nhein-

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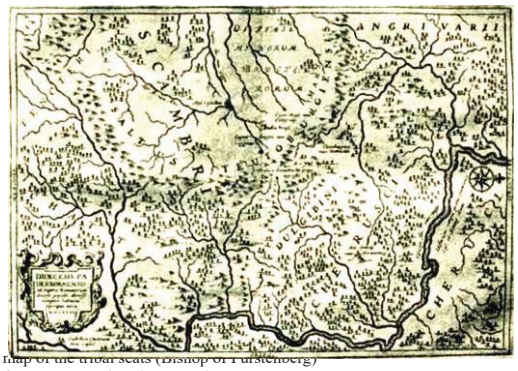
' Schlerenberg, op. cit., p. 12.

led across a bridge. The Caesian Forest (near Oberhausen 'Heißen', Essen, Steele), where the Romans had maintained their rule through forts and had nothing to fear, was crossed in forced marches. But the Germanic tribes did not break into the Marserland via its western border near Kamen, but chose the 'more arduous, as yet untried, and therefore unoccupied by the enemy' route through the mountains south of the Lippe. Geographically, this is an important observation, as it renders the usual assumption of a more southerly direction for the campaign invalid. Germanicus therefore marched through the Haarstrang in its longitudinal direction and, at some point from which he still had 70 km of the Marser region ahead of him, turned north from the mountains into the fertile areas of the land, 'where the Marser

"The cattle stretch out", it is noted. The description of the train in the annals then continues as follows:

"A stretch of 5-0 miles (17.5 km) ; he laid waste the entire region with fire and sword devastated by fire and sword. No gender, no age found mercy; profane and sacred sites, and even the among those peoples



as most sacred Fig. 68. Old map of the tribal seats (Bishop of Paderborn)
, which was called the Tanfana, was razed to the ground

"They had made amends. The Romans had emerged unscathed, as they had only killed those who were drunk, unarmed or scattered." The whole affair was intended to restore the mutinous army's self-confidence.

In an army of around 17,000 men, the 76 kilometres of front line cannot be justified on military grounds. The width of the front of such a column is also determined by considerations of the army's safety and cohesion; it could under no circumstances be greater than 20 to 80 km. The Marserland stretches from the west, roughly within this width, between the mountains and the Lippe as far as the heights of Lippstadt. From this point onwards, the territory narrows down to the source of the Lippe, as we can see from a border district (Brüncker-mark, Adlermark, Eipenfeld-Willsöden, Sammtholzsundern with the Jmsenbiirg, Habrighauser Mark), which sealed off the land to the south-east against the Sugambri. This relationship between the two tribal territories is also accepted by Schwabe in his Historical Atlas and is otherwise fairly widely accepted. In addition, the map I have included here (not present in all copies of the Unnmenw knckerb.

The map by Fürstenberg from 1682 (which can be found) may be of interest. This Bishop of Paderborn can certainly be trusted to have more than an ordinary knowledge of such matters. What is important for us is that he, too, places the Marser, who were part of the Sugambri, near the source of the Ems. This can be discerned with some difficulty from our map, where the name Marser appears in connection with the cult of Loutobureionsis. It is rather awkward for the eye that on this map north is to the right. In many instances to date — including by Fürstenberg — the Sugambri have been regarded as the main tribe dwelling south of the Lippe, whilst the aforementioned Mark belt, which Charlemagne encountered, shows us very clearly that there was still a border here against the great Sugambrian land (Sugarland — Sauerland). Towards Paderborn, the Sugambrian territory narrowed, for the Kalten were already settled as far north as Helmern. The excellent overview map by Henke (Research on the Battle of Varus, Gütersloh, 1910) should be corrected in accordance with Fürstenberg and taking into account the border belt along the Alme, so that the Susatians are classified not as 'Sugambri' but as Marsians. Incidentally, it also provides an excellent illustration of the central location of the Ocsterholz Mark between the six major tribes. The same applies to Dörrenberg's map. – This refers to a later period, when the Bructeri had already subjugated the Marsian territory between Unna and Neuhaus. Later, the Angrivarians came across this fertile region. It therefore presents considerable difficulties for tribal research.

Let us assume the most likely scenario, that Germanicus emerged from the mountains south of Werl because here the Nuhr bend stood in the way of continuing the march through the mountains. Here he still had a mere 75 km of the Mars region to ravage before reaching the sources of the Lippe. In this way he reached the Mark Oesterholz. Then Königslau, Langelau, Eckelau and Lindelau are to be regarded as the 'most famous temples of Tanfana among those peoples' (note the plural). The term 'temple' originally referred to any enclosed sacred site (eoleberrimum illls Lsntidus tsmplum, auoel lkamkaiias voeabant).

This is further supported by a reason that warrants attention. Tacitus uses the genitive 'panlauae', from which one must infer the existence of a female goddess named 'Tanfana', who is otherwise completely unknown and is not mentioned anywhere else. Despite all attempts to find a truly plausible explanation, the name offers no clue.

But could this not, as is often assumed in so many other cases, be a copying error on the part of the scribe? If we simply remove the single letter 'o' from the end of the word 'lawlanno' and treat 'Tanfana' as a nominative plural, the solution to the riddle is at hand. 'k'anuin' means 'sanctuary', 'kan' means 'sanctuaries', and 'Tanfana' are the great sanctuaries, the collective sanctuaries or the universal sanctuaries. We are then not dealing with the sanctuary of a goddess 'Tanfana', who does not exist, but with the sanctuaries of those peoples. Tacitus's informant made a reasonably successful attempt with 'Tanfana' to translate the Germanic designation of the sanctuaries. Grimm is right when he says: 'It was far more important to the Romans' mode of expression to achieve a semblance of clarity through free translation than to render a service to posterity by retaining barbaric expressions.' The Tan and Tam in Latin is

* Grimm, Mythol., p. 108.

the same as the Greek tau, which, when placed before another term, imparts an expanding, enlarging meaning; and in Latin words containing tau or tarn, this meaning is subtly implied. The translator of the word may have been someone who thought in Greek.

My interpretation of ‘tam’ has been contradicted by a friendly source. But I find 10 words composed with the root ra^ (in ravcoo;— far-reaching) which have thereby acquired the concept of extension. The alternative explanations proposed for tamfana—which, incidentally, mostly accept the fanum—are far too contrived and convoluted to be acceptable. In Tacitus’s ear, the nrokana of his final line had not yet faded away. To him, a Germanic goddess named

‘Tamfana’ must have sounded just as strange and suspicious as if we were told of a goddess named ‘Hochkirchen’. He should have added a word of explanation for his readers, who would have felt the same way. According to my linguistic intuition, it did not even occur to Tacitus to present his readers with a Germanic goddess named ‘Tanfana’ or ‘Tamfana’.

My proposed interpretation of the name does not, however, resolve the question of the location if a different route for the campaign of destruction is assumed. However, if Germanicus did march to the Lippe springs, then this interpretation of the name will also contribute to the clear light that illuminates not only the autumn campaign of the year 14, but also the Oesterholz Mark itself. This interpretation of the report remains valid, even if it is greatly exaggerated; that is, even if the Romans did not reach the Tanfana sites at all at that time, but merely raided an unsuspecting local festival gathering on the border — which also strikes me as the more likely scenario. What remains important is the information that the Tanfana sites are to be sought 75 km eastwards in the Marserlande.

In his attempts to locate the site of the Tanfana sanctuary, Adolf Mcinders drew attention in the 18th century to a district in Borgholzhausen known as Tämfanne or Tennfanne. However, extending the Marserland as far as Borgholzhausen or even to its vicinity is incompatible with everything known about the Stammessihe. And the mystery of the name is not diminished by the Tämfanne in Borgholzhausen, but rather becomes even greater.

The resolution of the question will therefore depend on whether the extension of the Marser territory as far as the sources of the Lippe is regarded as correct and my overall solution is deemed probable and satisfactory. If, in addition, the otherwise obscure word ‘Tamfana’ is clarified, that too is a gain.

Having crowned this first act of vengeance by the Romans with such a deed in the holiest of places without suffering any losses, Germanicus began the march back, which now, of course, took on a very different character. The Marsians, together with their allies, had meanwhile gathered to offer resistance. They encountered the rearguard of the Roman army and routed them. The main army just managed to reach a fortified camp and escape the danger: ‘In the pride and self-confidence born of their victory, and without a thought for the past, the troops moved into their winter quarters.’ In the two years that followed, the Romans fared so badly that they forgot all about returning.

Both the Battle of the Impassable and the Battle of the Long Bridges in the year 15

were heavy defeats in which Germanicus and Caecina barely escaped annihilation. The year 16, however, saw the collapse of the largest army that Rome had ever sent against the barbarians: 100,000 men. Even in the lifetime of the writers whose accounts Tacitus recounts, the papyrus was patient; and battle reports from peoples prone to boasting, such as the Romans of old and the French of today, must always be judged by the outcome of the battles. Accordingly, the battle at Jdistaviso (Eisbergen near Ninteln a. W.), the description of which, incidentally, seems partly impossible and partly ridiculous, can only have been a feigned engagement, whereby the retreating Germans drew the Roman army as far as the Angrivarian Wall, where Hermann intended to fight and did fight the decisive battle. The result was this: instead of the march to the Elbe, which Germanicus had loudly proclaimed the evening before Jdistaviso, the remnants of the Roman army poured westwards towards the Ems to save themselves by crossing the North Sea on 1,000 ships.

When a storm broke out and the mass of refugees was driven onto enemy or uninhabited territory, where they were taken captive by the Germans or perished, the Emperor Germanicus narrowly escaped the fate that befell Varus. Tacitus's account*, in Woyte's translation, reads as follows: "A single trireme, that of Germanicus, landed on the coast of the Chauci. For all the days and nights that followed, he wandered about the dunes and headlands, accusing himself of being the cause of such a terrible disaster, and his friends could scarcely prevent him from seeking death in the very waves that had swallowed up his army."

The end of the war did not, of course, prevent Germanicus from securing permission for a triumphal procession in Rome. But, as a precaution, they waited until the following spring to see whether the Germanic tribes might, for their part, launch a counter-offensive across the Alps – which, just as naturally, they did not. Things must be very dire indeed before the Germanic tribes undertake a counter-offensive. During the triumphal procession, a fake Thusnelda was paraded before the curious Romans. After all this, who can still believe Tacitus's account, presented in good faith 90 years later, of Germanicus's 'change of heart'—which is completely out of character—to the dismay of Segestes? It was invented, with all the trimmings, specifically to account for Thusnelda's disappearance. This is the judgement already reached by Schierenberg and others. I agree with them.

Above all, however, I wished to take this opportunity to comment on the Battle of the Angrivarierwall, that great Germanic feat which has been overlooked in the prevailing view. Even fewer logical conclusions have been drawn from it.

Marklo

According to Einhard, the representatives of the tribes of the Saxon Confederation met annually in Marklo for joint deliberations. The word 'Marklo' is unambiguous. It means a sacred grove in a 'Mark'. Consequently, there must have been many places worthy of the name, even if only one Marklo, where the representatives of the Saxon tribes were accustomed to gathering.

It is therefore not surprising that this Marklo, solely on the basis of its

r Tacitus, Annals, Book 5, 24.

No such place has been found to date, nor is it likely ever to be found, whether on the River Weser, where Einhard situates it, or anywhere else. Einhard himself may not have realised that this was not a proper name at all, but rather a descriptive term. It is as if one were to say today: 'Members of Parliament are in the habit of gathering at the Reichstag', and then someone were to go looking for a town called Reichstag in Germany. Einhard was generally little familiar with Saxon affairs; he lived far away in the Palatinate, so that one does not know whether, when he specified the location 'on the Weser', he might not have had the Weser region in mind, as distinct from the Elbe region, in which case a difference of a few miles would not have mattered. In any case, we must attach only little weight to his description of the location. It is highly unlikely that the usual place of deliberation for the Saxon tribes was situated on the Weser itself, since the Weser flowed downstream from Münden for a long stretch through pure Cheruscan territory, and had no mark on either the right or left bank as far as Veltheim near Vlotho where the Marklo might be presumed to have been. The Beltheim Mark would be the only possibility if the designation is to be taken strictly in relation to the Weser. Maßloh, situated 6 km east of the Weser near Petershagen in a former sacred grove, is unlikely to be a candidate simply because of its name, as the crucial glottal stop of the word 'Mark' is missing. There are many place names in that area containing Maß or Meß (Meßlingen, Maßlingen, Meßwinkel, Mesmerode, etc.), which have nothing to do with the Mark.

Since, in the case of this custom of the Germanic tribes, we must take into account the religious reasons that always played a role in important matters, we must not seek the Marklo merely somewhere within a Mark, but rather where the common religious sanctuaries acceptable to all were located. We know this with a certainty that leaves little to be desired only of the Oesterholzer Mark. It is situated 38 km from the Weser as the crow flies. Its central location for the tribes united in the Saxon Confederation is obvious.

It will be difficult to add historical or other external reasons to these internal ones, as there is only a single brief historical mention of the fact. It will be left to the subjective judgement of the individual whether to give preference to the internal reasons favouring the Oesterholzer Mark, or to dispense with a geographical determination of Marklo. In the former case, there is at least the possibility of giving flesh and blood to what is in itself a mere historical fact—a parliament of the allied tribes—whereas the ever-sought-after but unfindable Marklo on the banks of the Weser can add nothing further to the historical picture. Our historians, and not the least competent among them, have always worked with such assumptions of probability. Therefore, this must also be permitted in the case of Marklo. —

Regarding Marklo, Weber's *World History* I, 8 318 notes: "There was no single authority for the whole people; at the provincial assembly in Marklo on the Weser, where representatives from the free estates of the people attended, matters of general provincial concern were discussed and decisions on war and peace were taken."

We must become more sensitive to Germanic matters and no longer overlook, even in such sentences, the treatment of Germanic affairs characteristic of our earlier historiography—a treatment we now fundamentally reject. In

the very same breath in which Weber reports on the highest state institutions and powers of a great political confederation in Germania, the Germanic people are quite generally denied a common authority! What is meant, of course, is that they had not yet progressed far enough in their culture.

A few lines earlier, Weber unhesitatingly refers to the probable acts of self-defence by the good-natured, hard-working Westphalians against the torments of their restless, insolent and domineering West Frankish neighbours as ‘robber raids’. With all due respect to Georg Weber, what we see here is the bias from a foreign perspective that repeatedly manifests itself in historiography concerning Germanic antiquity, which in the present case follows the historical falsehoods about the
‘wild Saxons’.

One thing we must certainly note: the tribal assembly at Marklo was not a casual gathering, but a fully-fledged governing body which exercised the supreme sovereign right to decide on matters of war and peace. It must have convened at a site of religious sanctity for the united tribes, such as we have identified in the Oesterholzer Mark.

14. Sacred Lines

Locating Germanic mountain sanctuaries

A constantly recurring coincidence negates itself.

In the Mediterranean countries of antiquity, there was a practice of orienting plots of land and sacred buildings. The continued existence of such buildings or their ruins provided the opportunity for scientific investigations, such as those carried out by Prof. Nissen-Bonn at the beginning of this century on 350 temples with positive results.

In Germania, all sacred buildings from the pre-Christian era, insofar as they ever existed, have vanished from the face of the earth, of which perhaps the Sazellum at the Externsteine forms the sole exception. In Trier, Dr Löschte is now excavating the ruins of sacred buildings from the depths, the significance of which we cannot yet fully grasp.

Magnificent temples in the classical sense would hardly have existed, as the deities were preferred to be worshipped in groves and on mountain heights. Insofar as the need for covered spaces for sacred purposes did arise, these were generally wooden structures which, even had they not been destroyed at the time of the introduction of Christianity, would have survived for only a few centuries.

But throughout the country there were numerous other stone monuments and towers dedicated to the service of the deity, which have likewise disappeared. Both their existence and their complete destruction are revealed with startling clarity in a little-known resolution of a church assembly in Nanzig, which confirmed and further tightened Charlemagne's Capitular of 789 in Aachen. I have taken this resolution from a work by the member of the Episcopal Consistory, His Imperial Majesty's Professor Franz Widlak-Znaim-

, a source that is certainly beyond reproach, and I place it verbatim at the beginning, because the memory of it must accompany my remarks from start to finish. It is the 20th canon of this apparently very productive church council, for which the destruction of the monuments, already carried out, was not yet enough. It reads:

> "I-Lpicics guogue, guos in ruinosi; locls ec rilvercribur cksemomnn lurlisicr- rionilm; ckccccpri vcncrancur, ulü er vora vovenc ec ckekcrunr, kunckirus ekkockiLn- rur srgue in rall loco proiclänrur, ulri nunguain a culroril>u5 suir invcniri xorrlnr. Omnl- l>u5gue inrerckicatur, ur nullus vorum kiciar snc CLnckclem rnr aligulr nummuz pro srlure suL rogaruru; -libi äekcrLk, niri all ccclerirm v-l Domino Oeo suo."

In English:

> E v e n the stones which the people, deceived by demonic illusions, worship at the ruins in the woods, where they also make and fulfil vows, are to be dug up from their foundations and cast into a place where they can never be found by their worshippers. It shall be forbidden to all that no one, out of concern for the salvation of his soul, should make a vow or bring a light or an offering anywhere other than to the church and to his Lord and God.

» Nissen, The Orientation of Egyptian and Greek Buildings, 3 volumes. – Widlah, Customs of the Ancient Germans, published by F. M. Lents, Znaim. (Emphasis added by the author, as elsewhere.)

Given the power of Nom and the fanaticism of those times, into which the people themselves were gradually drawn, who can doubt that the decision was carried out to the letter?

An exception seems to have been made for stone crosses (penitential crosses, wayside crosses, fig. 69), a large number of which can still be found on Germanic soil. In any case, they owe their survival to their cross-like form, which was regarded as suitable for transforming the Germanic custom into a Christian one. This had already been done by Pope Leo III in 779, when he issued a decree calling for the erection of wayside crosses at places where people were in the habit of meeting. However, this did not entirely succeed, due to their eerie original significance and also, no doubt, because of the form, which was not entirely appropriate. Nor did the later attempt to turn them into penitential crosses and then erect new penitential crosses accordingly catch on, so that Dr Kuhfahl, in his valuable work on 'The Old Stone Crosses in Saxony', arrives at the following overall conclusion: "In view of the widely scattered stone cross finds, of which I have recorded thousands from Central European soil between the Vosges and the western Caucasus, between the northern Italian plain and the northern shores, we are still faced with a mystery today." We must regard it as an indisputable fact that the majority of ancient stone crosses are of Germanic origin and are linked to the old faith. The symbols frequently found on them may yet shed further light on the matter. In our final example of a site, we shall encounter a stone cross which reinforces the assumption that the things (assembly sites) had such crosses as 'markers'.

If it was deemed necessary in Ranzig to adopt the above resolution regarding the forests
If this is the case for the sacred stone structures that have been preserved, how much more must we conclude that any temples and other sacred buildings in the villages, whether of stone or wood, were destroyed without exception with a thoroughness that could not be surpassed. No similar ecclesiastical decree concerning the Mediterranean countries is known, and if one was issued, it was certainly not carried out, as the temple ruins that still exist today demonstrate; this was likely because the lesser religious perseverance of the Mediterranean peoples made such a measure seem unnecessary. In Germania, however, the matter did not end with the mere physical destruction of the temples; rather, every effort was made—and with considerable success—to cast a veil of oblivion over such and similar events. Thus, for example, one must search with some effort through the biographies of Charlemagne to find the brief mentions of acts of destruction, just as the massacre at Verden is dismissed in a few lines.

It was out of ignorance or disregard for the profound process of architectural destruction during the period of conversion that a fatal misconception arose among the German people: namely, that the complete absence of architectural monuments or their remains allowed—and indeed required—conclusions to be drawn about the depth of Germanic architecture and, by extension, the entire culture of that era.

' Kalliefe, in the Correspondence Bulletin of the General Association of German Historical and Antiquarian Societies 1918, No. 7/8, col. 7. Saxon Heritage Protection in Dresden 1928.

I have been unable to find any discussion in our literature regarding the existence of astronomical knowledge in pre-Christian Germania, except that engineer Stephan Halle a. S. has dealt with the determination of the sun's position at the summer solstice at Stonehenge and the marking of cardinal points in the stone setting at Tucheler Heide. I would like to draw particular attention here to Stephan's work in the Mannshefte. Recently, discussions on 'Mecklenburg's " .Stcintanz"' by Werner Timm and a. have been added. General Schradin-Ulm draws attention in a manuscript to a Drienticrung he observed in Lorraine and southern Germany. In the journal 'Das Weltall', Prof. Dittrich has compiled a comprehensive collection of reports and reflections on astronomical constellations in general and on their location and probability in particular.

Fig. 69. Mordkrcuz near Probsthagen

Furthermore, the age-old practice of determining the longitudinal axis of Christian church buildings along the west-east axis had, here and there, led to the justified question of whether, like countless other Christian customs, stem from a practice common in Germania to revive an ancient custom, since the orientation towards the holy stars in Palestine would have required a south-easterly rather than an easterly direction in the Germanic lands. The orientation as such was probably justified in Germanic astrology, but not in the Christian religion.

My search for any remaining traces and signs of such an orientation in Germania, inspired by my observations of the Erternsteine near Oesterholz, has been met with positive results. They led to the following:

> In many parts of Germany, the custom of orienting sacred buildings and other public sites towards the north and east, based on astronomical observation, was practised in relation to one another. Furthermore, to the locations of the solstices and other points are also evident.

' "Tti" Weliall", Zeilsänisl sür Aslroiiaiiii,' etc., Treptow-Stornwane, May 1902.

The last remaining traces of this custom will enable us to identify the sites of former sanctuaries, so that further research can then be conducted using the means available to archaeology.

The Externsteine and Oesterholz had already drawn attention to the fact that the ancients had used the surrounding natural landscape as reference points for their astronomical alignments. However, my further investigations initially yielded only isolated and therefore unreliable indications of the solstices and equinoxes.
Nor was the striking fact that (1) the boundary line of the Oesterholz estate, indicating the meridian, crossed over a ridge to intersect the ruins of the Teutoburg Forest next to the Hermann Monument, and further north first a mysterious tower stump on the Hiddeser Berg and then the chapelin Heidenoldendorf, could not suffice, but it did keep our attention alive.
The impetus for the laborious investigations, which were ultimately rewarded with surprising results, came from a visit to the ancient Germanic camp ‘Dehmerburg’ on the southern slope of the Wittekindberg near Porta Westfalica, a site not yet marked on our maps. I noticed that the observation tower overlooking the camp at ‘Wilder Schmie d’—on the site of which the camp’s Luginsland would have been—stands north of the Hermann Monument with a deviation from the astronomical north line of approximately 0.8 to 1.0 degrees, depending on whether one takes the point on the Grotenburg. The distance between the Teutoburg Forest and the Weser Mountains is 37 km at this point.
After that, I also observed (2) the west-east line running through the Teutoburg Forest (the equinoxes), sharply defined in the east once again by a watchtower, Kalenberg, which rises above the historically recognised Schiederburg (Alt-Schieder). This time, the deviation from the astronomical latitude was so small that it is barely perceptible even with a large sextant of 30 cm in diameter. At the midpoint of the 23 cm-long stretch, where there is space for an intermediate station, I was surprised to encounter once again the Meinberg observation tower, which is already familiar to us as a landmark on the Externstein moon line. To the west of the Teutoburg, the church at Stukenbrok also stands out along this line. I was thus faced with the curious fact that both the northern and eastern lines of the Teutoburg, whose location at Oesterholz had already been noted, had an endpoint on the ridge of the mountain on the horizon that was very clearly marked by a viewing tower, and that in both cases there was an ancient settlement beneath the viewing tower!
Now, phenomena such as these two Tcutoburg lines, when they occur in isolation, can certainly be attributed to a curious coincidence. For any long line drawn across a map will, of course, intersect all manner of points, including one or even several to which archaeological significance can be ascribed. But ultimately, belief in a coincidence—or the possibility of one—ceases when the same phenomena accumulate in our system of north and east lines, whilst occurring less frequently in another arbitrarily chosen system applied in the same manner.

When the investigation then yielded more or less impressive results for a larger number of the remaining ancient settlements and castles in Lower Saxony, a picture of the orientation of the ancient sites gradually emerged before my eyes and t h o s e of my colleagues; although naturally quite incomplete and blurred in numerous details, it still appears convincing enough, even though for 1,150 years only destructive forces have been at work upon it.

Alongside the considerable number of lines similar to the two mentioned above, there then emerged a very large number of shorter, easily comprehensible, and therefore for many even more striking locations, with their local significance for religious life and for the calendar of the local inhabitants.

From all that we know of the religious life and customs of ancient civilisations, the cardinal directions played a significant role in them. In the Deutsches Museum in Munich there is a painting: The Egyptian king and the goddess of wisdom erecting the boundary markers for the north and south sides during the founding of the temple at Amada in 1175 BC.

The existence of this northern orientation, which is deeply rooted in ancient Germanic belief whilst being entirely inconceivable within the Christian sphere of thought and feeling, completely undermines any suggestion that these locational phenomena could have arisen during the Christian era. “The devil’s abode was relocated to the north, and the new converts, with furrowed brows and angry gestures, had to renounce the old faith whilst facing north*.” This should suffice to characterise the relationship of the Christian Church on the one hand and the Germanic faith on the other to the north. Furthermore, our observations often point to precisely those sites as key points of orientation which have nothing to do with the Church or Christianity.

The north has continued to hold a significance in the world of peoples that permeates the customs of daily life. To this day, the custom has been preserved among the Indians of positioning the body towards the north when sleeping; if someone in Wuppertal cannot sleep, they are likely to be advised to turn towards the north.

The inclination towards orientation can probably be traced back to the prehistoric dawn of religion and culture. In practical terms, people would have begun by using landmarks in the surrounding landscape on the horizon to memorise locations from certain vantage points, and by increasingly carefully determining where the sun rose or set at specific important times. This provided a basis for the division of the year, which, with the advent of agriculture, had also become one of the most important practical concerns of daily life. In coastal regions, the urgent needs of seafaring were added to this. Livestock farming, hunting and fishing also required attention to the calendar.

From the very outset, the need for religious sentiment to turn towards the direction in which one imagined the deity to be worshipped was not merely linked to the act of locating that deity, but must indeed be regarded as the very foundation of the entire inclination. The more a

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* Biedenkapp, The North Pole as the Original Homeland. Costenoble Publishers, Jena 1906, p. 153.

customs developed for sacrifice and prayer, for vows, oaths and other solemn acts, the greater the significance of the cardinal directions had to become. And the more God-fearing one was, the more precise one had to be regarding direction.

It is in this religious devotion, combined with concern for the calendar, that the origins of 'scientific' astronomy are to be found. It must therefore be described as scientific because, with minimal interference from intuition or wishful thinking, it was earnestly concerned with recording the actual conditions of the celestial bodies and had to devise the appropriate methods to achieve this goal.

The result was, indeed, thoroughly commendable. The polar circle has been determined with such accuracy that no difference can be discerned from the polar circle of modern astronomy. By astronomical standards, a layman of our time, despite being equipped with a watch and a compass, would find it difficult to solve this no easy task as correctly as the ancients did, to our admiration. Even the observational errors, which must naturally be taken into account in all practical individual cases, and for the sake of which, in the opinion of experts, a margin of error of one degree or more must be allowed, appear to have been very small in the case of the ancients. A margin of one degree should therefore only be taken into account in the rarest of cases, when other factors are involved — always on the basis of the current polar line. Of course, this leaves open the possibility, indeed the probability, that the ancients very often measured with even greater inaccuracy. In the earliest Christian period, when Germanic astronomy was suppressed and forgotten, errors of up to 14 degrees were made in the siting of churches.

It should also be noted, regarding the difficulty of determining the polar line, that even a few thousand years ago the current North Star was far off course and no other suitable North Star was available.

The next logical, psychologically inevitable step in this development was the elevation of the natural landmarks used for orientation to the status of sacred sites, since they were, after all, imbued with the spirit of the deity. This then led to their being equipped with whatever was needed when people gathered at these sacred sites on the festive days of the deity in question. We can only speculate as to what these furnishings consisted of; perhaps a wooden or stone monument (menhir), an elevated platform, a stone mound or a tower base for the pyre, so that the fire might blaze high into the sky.

Yes, fire, that supreme and most favoured means of worshipping God! There was a solemn kindling of the flame by rubbing wood together, for which the name 'Notfeuer' (Nodfyr) has been known since ancient times. The Jndikulus forbids 'illoa sacrilessa isnea auos nieäE-r voeant' — those sacrilegious fires which they call 'Niedfhr'. We have ample knowledge of the Easter and St John's fires.

That these locations are in fact the sites of the mountain and forest sanctuaries, whose existence we were already aware of but whose exact locations we did not know—places where people gathered—is also evident from a vivid tradition that has been preserved in many forms right up to our own time; for the nature

The nature and use of these sites in later periods often fail to provide sufficient evidence to explain the specific network of paths that developed there.

Sometimes, particularly in areas where the local conditions were suitable for agriculture and settlement, these enclosed sanctuaries and the dwellings of their first inhabitants — fire keepers and, from the Metal Age onwards, also smiths — became focal points for later settlements. There, the settlement sanctuary became the village assembly place. The further back we go with our assumption of the emergence of settlement into the earliest periods of settlement, the more comprehensible the whole phenomenon becomes.

Quite a few of the villages that arose in this way still reveal today – as, of course, do the other church villages situated at thingsites – through the layout of their streets that the converging paths had to bypass an enclosure at this point. When driving quickly through such villages, the church squares appear to the modern-day motorist as traffic obstacles placed in the way.

As regards these oldest church villages, it is among the most certain facts of our Germanic past that, during the period of conversion and in accordance with the orders of all the popes of the time, the churches were, where possible, situated on the thing sites, 'where the people were accustomed to gather'. This was a decree as cruel as it was effective in suppressing the old faith, especially as damage to the churches was punishable by death.

Nevertheless, given their abundance in areas with many churches, we may only cite the churches as evidence if a line of argument already appears to be established by other means, or if their orientation over a short distance is particularly striking.

As soon as these locations were used as festive gathering places, they themselves became subject to the need for localisation, and indeed in the very same direction in which they were themselves intended to be located. This simple explanation accounts for the emergence of the longer lines, sometimes stretching over considerable distances across mountains and valleys, along which — naturally, only fragmentarily for us — the stations appear like pearls on a string (see Example 31). It is noteworthy and explainable that the observational errors from measuring point to measuring point have almost balanced each other out for most of these longer lines, so that the starting and ending points usually show only a slight difference in their distance from the astronomical latitude or longitude. For the errors did not occur consistently in one and the same direction.

The fires, visible from afar, now presented themselves to the leaders of the people as a natural means of communicating with those living at a distance. As the needs of the community grew, a system of signalling for both peaceful and warlike purposes would have developed, one which likely surpassed the signalling systems found even among the savages of Africa in terms of sophistication and cultural utility, just as the ancient Nordic peoples surpassed the coloured peoples of our time in spirit and other talents.

. At the time of the Nomes, the Germanic peoples were startled out of a life which was probably

the disputes fought out between the great chieftains and their retinues* in a one-on-one manner, as well as bloody tribal feuds; at the borders, they also had to repel invading foreign tribes, including women and children. But they had no experience of fighting a well-trained, foreign, hostile military force. When this became necessary at the turn of our era, the Germanic tribes rallied on several occasions — in the years 15 and 16 AD even more so than in the year 9 — to military exploits of such magnitude and with such skilful leadership of large masses that, in the judgement of a military expert, these exploits must inevitably also be seen as evidence of an exceptionally effective intelligence service. The situation was similar later during the 32-year struggle of the Saxon Confederation against Charlemagne, who advanced as a foreign conqueror and oppressor with his well-trained, already fully Romanised West Franks.

Such military achievements provide strong grounds for the assumption that the existing ritual and calendrical beacons were also utilised for public communication. It is not unreasonable to suggest that, amidst a tangle of countless fires lighting up the countryside on all manner of occasions, it was precisely the straight, astronomically determined lines—such as those created by the positioning of these beacons—that offered the possibility of reliably conveying messages right to the country's borders. One can convince oneself of the futility of this idea by taking in the view of the Easter bonfires, for example in this local area from the Meinberg observation tower. Only through astronomically determined straight lines could disruptions and misunderstandings in the transmission of messages be ruled out.

In those spots on the mountain ridges where the fires of our ancestors once shone far and wide, we now find a striking number of our viewing towers – specifically those whose sites were not merely selected, cleared and prepared to satisfy a recent desire for the enjoyment of nature, but which have long held a special status, created or at least preserved by humanor at least preserved special status as open spaces visible from afar. In the Middle Ages, these sites were often used for watchtowers before they were recently designated for viewing towers or small shrines. The reason for this enduring nature of their special position in the forests, which is now so advantageous to us, is likely to be found in the fact that the soil conditions of these sites—which have been kept free of forest growth for millennia and where humus formation has been hindered—have been hostile to both free growth and reforestation. If, at the same time, they had retained their access routes, they thus offered all the advantages for the construction of observation towers.

For similar reasons, many a medieval watchtower in the countryside and near the towns will also have been built on the very spot where the Germanic sanctuary once stood. Before one prepared a new site or even moved from private property

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Tacitus's description of the idle life led by Germanic men, insofar as there is any truth to it, can only refer to those retinues who had left their home farms and led a life of idleness in the service and vicinity of their prince; this would, however, have differed markedly from the life of Roman mercenaries described by Tacitus.

When acquiring land, one naturally chose an existing plot that was in public ownership and well-suited for the purpose.

Apart from the aforementioned thing-site churches, which in many cases can be identified on maps from the large number of other church sites, as well as the watchtowers and lookouts, we may also consider the isolated forest chapels, hermitages and small monasteries as indications of former landmarks. We may regard their predecessors, almost without exception, as having been erected as early as the period of conversion for the purposes of atonement and the abatement of idolatry at the sites of Germanic cults.

In Protestant areas and in those Catholic areas where wayside shrines and crosses are less common, these too should be included here, particularly if they are situated in remote locations. The oldest Calvary sites give the strongest indication that they arose on the sites of significant Germanic sanctuaries. A major factor here was the belief that the evil spirits of the old gods should be driven from such places – gods who, according to the faith of early Christianity, continued to exist and carry on their activities at the familiar sites of their worship. The Way of the Cross leading to the Calvary north of Brakel is aligned at 130° to the summer solstice.

If the sites could not be purified in this way, the path of demonisation was taken. They were designated as places of the devil and witches, or given contemptuous names, and brought into disrepute, a reputation which in many cases has persisted to this day.

We must also take into account the generally excellent locations of the castle ruins and residential castles regarded as medieval. There are strong grounds for considering many castles, until such time as compelling evidence to the contrary is produced, to be the successors and beneficiaries of what their ancestors had already made of these sites in Germanic times. Similarly, our oldest farmsteads naturally still stand precisely on the sites where our Germanic ancestors — dating back to the earliest days of agriculture — toiled with the sweat of their brow to carve out their dwellings and farmland from the barren, Ice Age landscape, and where they had built their homes, spacious and sturdy, in keeping with their advancing civilisation. The few castles and earthworks that have not been built over in later times, and which we still have to examine, nevertheless provide us with sufficient insight into the sites the ancients chose for their purposes. And among these purposes, religious sanctuaries took precedence.

Finally, we must also take due care to respect all manner of other structures and facilities situated on public land, often at crossroads, such as schools, cemeteries, even slaughterhouses, mills and so on, when they appear in these locations.

public land, often s i t u a t e d at crossroads, such as schools, cemeteries, even rendering works, mills and so on, when they appear at locations where we are led to seek landmarks for other reasons.

At the present stage of research, I can only provide these examples of orientation with the reservation that improvements will in any case be necessary in many respects. But since the location in Germania has become an indisputable fact for me and my colleagues, one which is continually being confirmed—see page 106.

Since this approach has already proven its worth as a heuristic principle (a means of discovery), it was necessary to present the matter to the public, as only in this way can further clarification, application and progress be achieved.

My reservation is necessary in view of the present difficulties. We must overcome not only the assessment of the observational errors of the ancients in each individual case, which is left to our subjective judgement, and the inaccuracy of our maps—however slight—which is inevitable due to the spherical shape of the Earth, but also the generally applicable fact that we do not know the exact measuring point of the ancients at any given location. This can, for example, lead to differences even in the case of castles, which make a difference when measuring at close range. This is even more the case with spacious encampments. Even the thing sites, where church spires now offer surveyors wonderful reference points, were, after all, larger than is desirable for our measurements. We are most certain only in the case of watchtowers, lookouts, isolated forest chapels, etc., that we have the correct location before us. Only costly excavation work, if accompanied by good fortune, could provide us with the greatest certainty. In any case, within narrow limits, we are obliged to make assumptions to the best of our knowledge and to proceed on the basis of an assumption.

There is one further point. Given the nature of the present investigations, a
If progress was to be made, it seemed out of the question to investigate the nature of each and every one of the many points encountered before giving them due consideration, or even—insofar as this might have been possible—to simply accept the existing judgement. A farmer whom I asked whether there might be a ghost story or some other tradition associated with a 10 (l) on the high, artificially mounded hill on the edge of his field, was clearly offended by the disgrace threatening his farm and claimed that his grandfather had had the hill mounded to provide employment for the unemployed. One must know a Westphalian farmer to appreciate such a reply, even if there may be some truth in it.

It is a well-known fact that, apart from the dolmens, the vestiges of human endeavour from ancient, now untraceable times still found in our country—including roads—are usually attributed to the French, Swedes, Hussites, Franks and Romans, or even the Poles, but certainly not to the inhabitants who have lived in this land for thousands of years and who not only died here, but also lived, thought and worked here. And this is done not only as a matter of course by the people, but also by a large number of scholars, who only reluctantly adopt a different view—first upon being presented with concrete evidence to the contrary, and even then with a sour expression. It would be more objective and reasonable if the reverse were the case; that is, if, in regard to all the remains and traces of ancient human works found in our lands, we were to think first and foremost—until genuine evidence to the contrary is found—of the deeds of those who lived and worked here, and to whose diligent labour we owe it in the first instance that this inhospitable land, as it must originally have been, gradually became the habitable land that the Middle Ages inherited. For this Middle

* See, for example, No. 30.

The Middle Ages, with their ceaseless strife, their almost invariably dreadful, unstable and leaderless political conditions, their rule of the strong, their world-renouncing spirit, and their actions concerned essentially only with the welfare of the lords and the Church—admittedly with exceptions, particularly in urban life—could contribute little to the true national culture. For the recognition and appreciation of the culture of the ancients, as we are now discussing, and for its recovery from the darkness of oblivion, it is an absolute prerequisite that we give priority to these and similar lines of thought. Otherwise, we shall remain mired in the profound errors that have been instilled in our people with the greatest success for the past 1,150 years.

A s things stand, errors regarding the origin, purpose and age of individual location points initially under consideration are almost inevitable. However, anyone who examines the examples provided with seriousness and calm—perhaps even consulting map material, a compass, ruler and protractor, and—exercising every caution—finds new ones. Caution, indeed the utmost caution, is certainly necessary; for there is no question that this is a field in which self-deception can flourish abundantly. Dr H. Röhrig has been inspired by our location theorem to produce a scientifically rigorous study of the location phenomena in East Frisia, which I therefore warmly recommend*. The work is particularly instructive for the reason that there are no mountains in East Frisia. Mr Fritz Fricke has also produced a study of several oracle phenomena between the Thuringian Forest and the Harz region, whilst a large number of oracle phenomena reported in letters from almost all regions of the German fatherland currently rest in the already considerably expanded archive of the 'Friends of Germanic Prehistory' in Detmold, awaiting the time for their examination and evaluation. One cannot help but admire the skill with which our ancestors, in selecting these sites, simultaneously served their ideal purposes — worship, ritual orientation, and an aesthetic appreciation of nature — whilst also meeting practical requirements regarding water and soil conditions and knew how to take military considerations into account.

They could not move mountains to satisfy the need for orientation; but they were able to make the most favourable choice from the options available to them. They established their camps in accordance with military requirements, but within the scope of their discretion, they heeded the instructions given by the knowledgeable Goden as to where the site for Luginsland and the beacon should be cleared. Altschieder could have fulfilled its military purpose at various other points along the narrowing Emmer Valley, but the intention was to honour the Easter God—

' Dr H. Nöhrig, Sacred Lines through East Frisia, published by the State Archives in Aurich, Friemann Publishers, Aurich 1930, 87 pp. A supplementary essay dealing with the question of chance on a mathematical basis is available directly from the author, Hannover, Metcrsir. 21.. - Self-published by Fritz Fricke, Mühlhausen, Thuringia.

to serve on the sacred Teutoburg line, to have a say, and chose the site beneath the Kalenberge. Anyone who, equipped with a certain measure of religious disposition, has engaged more deeply with the study of the religious sensibilities of ancient peoples will have ceased to doubt or scoff at such influences of religion on the practical actions and behaviour of people in antiquity. What Altschieder has said applies equally to the other orientations from camp fort to camp fort. And yet it is in the nature of things that their number can only be small. Generally speaking, the erection of a landmark for a hillfort is likely to have followed its construction.

One o f the rarer examples is the line 3 Hünenburg, west of Bielefeld, — Sparenburg in Bielefeld. Hünenburg is a site unquestionably classified as prehistoric, whereas there has hitherto been no reason to assume that Sparenburg is of great antiquity. Since the ridge on which Hünenburg stands allowed its builders to choose the site and align it with a line of sight, whilst the cone of Sparenburg strictly dictated the location, the orientation of Hünenburg must have been directed towards Sparenburg, and thus the prehistoric use of Sparenburg would be recognised as the older of the two. The interdependence of the locations of these two castles is strikingly evident from the precision of their positioning on the eastern line. One must make an arbitrary selection from the corners of the present Sparenburg building if one wishes to find a discernible deviation from the astronomical line. The distance is short — merely 4 km across a valley and a ridge — and its assessment is not misled by any competing points. I count them (up to Brake) among those one should first come to terms with if one wishes to form a view on the matter. For the same purpose, I also recommend examples Nos. 4, 5, 11, 29, 41, 42 and 47. -

I am now presenting roughly half of the location lines I have identified so far. It is the same number and selection as in the first edition; the accompanying explanations are also virtually unchanged, as my request for comments and criticism has yielded confirmations and additions, but not a reason to omit any line or location point. As I have unfortunately been unable to process the suggestions—some of which are very valuable—and to visit the sites, I must leave their evaluation to a later date and content myself here with expressing my sincere thanks to the contributors.

The comments attached to the examples are, for the most part, not only of local significance but also have general value for our understanding of Germanic matters, in some cases of a fundamental nature. The local details could not be omitted, but they are set in small type.

Further examples of localisation

Explanation of the abbreviations used here and later:

Aw, followed by a degree value, denotes the angular deviation of the orientation line from the astronomical longitude or latitude, measured to the best of our ability, or calculated using the formula crng a.

All angular deviations too small to be measured on the map using a protractor with a 30 cm diameter are entered as 0.05".

If an angular deviation is not specified, it is either because the point is so close or so low-lying that a measurement from and to it is not feasible, or because there is no measuring point available that would be sufficiently accurate or precise for our purposes.

The 'km' denotes the distance in kilometres; 'Auss.T.' — observation tower; 'W' — lookout; 'R' — ruin; 'T.P.' — trigonometric point. — The order of the examples is not arranged according to their degree of probability.

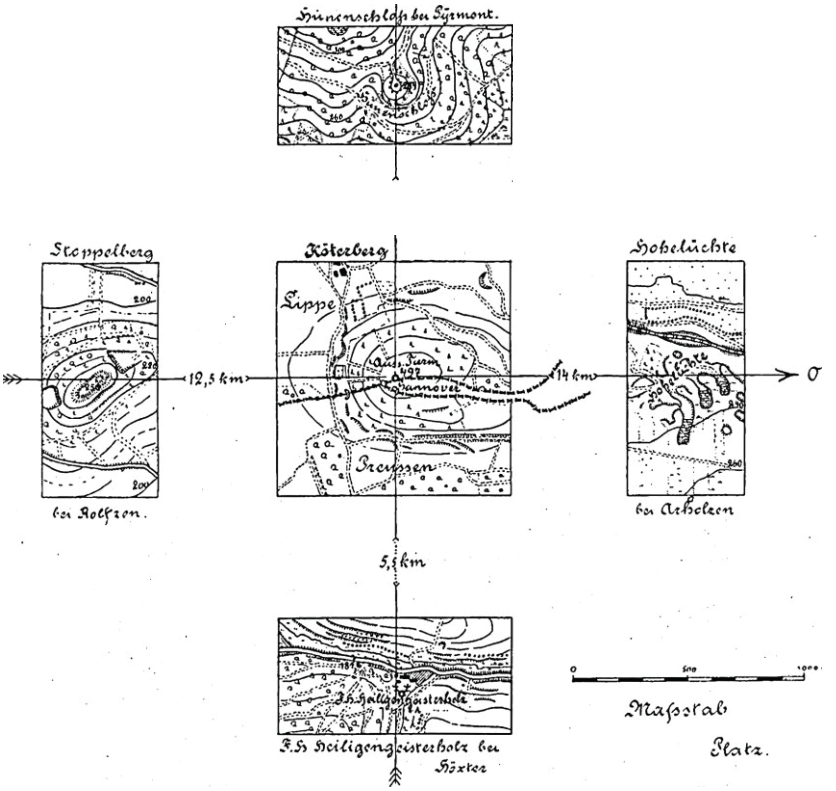

Fig. 70. Köterberg with its 4 positioning points

3. Hünenburg near Bielefeld — 4 km — Azimuth 0.1° Sparenburg. The eastern extension of this line runs: — 16.5 km — Azimuth 0.05° Friedh. Waddenhausen — 10.5 km — Aw 0.3° Brate Church near Lemgo — 15 km Saalberg (south of Alverdissen) — Saalberg (north-east of Sonneborn) — Monument Square south of Reher — 13 km — Aw 0.16° Hünen Castle near Amelgatzen — Eastern point.

Waddenhausen is a village without a church; the cemetery, situated next to the school at the crossroads, forms part of a communal site that has not yet been cultivated. — The church square of the old village of Brate is characterised by the layout of the roads as a former thing site. — The Saalberge hills, which lie several times along a single orientation line, tell us that meeting places were often situated close to existing hill sanctuaries. — A community does not usually designate a specific site for a monument; the community of Reher, too, will have provided a well-situated, uncultivated communal site for the war memorial.

At Hünenschloß near Amelgatzen, not far from Pyrmont, there is a ruin that is highly enigmatic. It forms a key point in the orientation system, as does the Waddenhausen cemetery (Example 16):

3. Hünenschloß — 18 km — Azimuth 0.1° East of Köterberg — 6 km to Heiligengeisterholz Forest House — 7.4 km -- Aw 0.9° Heiligenberg (St Michael's Chapel) — southern point.

We then proceed immediately to:

3. Stoppclkurg — 13 km — Azimuth 0.1° from Köterberg — 16'/- km 'Hohe-lüchte' (between Holzminden and Stadtoldendorf) — Eastern point.

The Köterberg, the highest elevation in this area west of the Weser, plays a major role in local folklore. Its name is commonly interpreted as 'Götterberg' (Mountain of the Gods). From here, the giants of prehistoric times hurled stone axes or boulders towards the Schwalenberg and the Stoppelberg.

Our illustration shows the view from Köterberge in all four cardinal directions, a sight rarely found with such striking clarity. Furthermore, the unique configuration of the border where the three regions of Westphalia, Lippe and Hanover meet at Köterberge is particularly noteworthy. Hanover extends right up to the old place of worship with a strip of land that is in places only 60 metres wide. What does this mean? Since today's borders have sometimes survived unchanged from the earliest times, and since no plausible reason from the Christian era can be conceived for this border configuration on the Köterberge, it seems justified to assume that there was once a communal sanctuary on the Köterberge for the three neighbouring districts. It is possible that originally the site, similar to a 'Mark', was communal property, and that when the Marks were divided during the Frankish period, all three parties involved—including the eastern partner situated at a distance—wished to retain their ancient rights to the site in tangible form. It is more likely, however, that this striking feature arose as early as the Germanic period precisely because there was no 'Mark' here and all three parties involved in the sanctuary wished to gather at the sacred site on their own land. The boundary feature of the Köterberg sheds light on many aspects of the early medieval period.

The following image illustrates this point even more clearly, showing the very similar landscape at Herlingsburg (Hermannsburg), situated a few kilometres to the north, where, at its highest point, Waldeck-Pyrmont extends into a narrow strip of land between the Lippe and Prussia. Here one can see quite

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According to Preuß, Lipp. Field names, 1552 Kötterberg.

that the former owners of the Prussian section did not base their claim on the mountain summit as such, but exclusively on the sanctuary situated there at an elevation of 334.6 metres (Example 31).

On its summit, within a massive earthwork, the Stoppelberg features a stone mound several metres high, which suggests that the hill was used as an orientation point. What we are looking at on the Stoppelberg remains, for the time being, a complete mystery. A brief examination of the findings suggests that it cannot have been a medieval residential fortress the forms familiar to us is evident from the findings following a brief investigation.

There can be no doubt as to the linguistic significance of ‘Hohelüchte’. As here, names associated with light and radiance are of great importance to us in other contexts too, a point to which we shall return. Here we have a mountainside known as ‘Hohelüchte’, now scarred by quarries. — The name ‘Heiligengeisterholz’ speaks for itself. But it is merely a minor stopover. When I recently came across the adjacent southern map sheet, I discovered a far more striking and definitive southern point in the ‘Heiligen Berge’ with its solitary St Michael’s Chapel, a generally recognised Germanic place of worship (— 714 km — Aw 0.9°). Wigand comments on this (1817): “It is equally likely that the worship of the gods on this holy mountain is as old as the settlements themselves, and that both date back to the Germanic period. It is customary to build churches and chapels on holy sites of pagan worship.” Our Fig. 70 shows the hei-
mountain yet.

This also supports the assumption of a north-facing orientation for both the Hünenburg in Bielefeld, to which we shall return, and the Sparenburg, there are grounds which cannot be overlooked in the context of the whole.

3. Hünenburg near Bielefeld — 28 km — Azimuth 0.6° (Rödinghausen) East of Nonnenstein — North point. The Nonnenstein is of interest due to folk legends, one of which also has an astronomical element: the
stone turns at the ninth hour. — Certainly, we must interpret this as a distortion of the legend in Christian times. But precisely because of this distortion, wherever any connection with a northward orientation appears, our thoughts are inevitably led back to pre-Christian times.

3. Sparenburg in Bielefeld — 9.0 km — Aw 0.1° Jöllenbeck observation point, elevation 149.1 m — 15.4 km — Aw 0.16" Bieren Church — Northern point.

' Nor does the note by Donops in his description of the Lippe region (1790) alter this. ' Wigand, Corvey’s Estates, p. 66.

Jöllenbeck and Bieren give rise to particular considerations. The church at Jöllenbeck stands on the site of the first elevation between Sparenburg and the Weser Mountains, which was considered as a stopover for the northern line.

Here we have a case where we need not, at first, concern ourselves with the location of the church building. For we know that the löll enb ecker parish was founded later, in the year 1000, by which time it was no longer considered necessary to ensure that the church was situated precisely on the site of the Germanic sanctuary. The first church also stood some 100 metres away, and it is only by chance that the present church has been moved back to the old court site on the Sparenburg line, which is still called the ‘Thi’ today. Thus, it now lies once again below elevation 149.1, which crowned the court site. That is where we must look for the old landmark. — The church stands, almost isolated amongst a few farmsteads, precisely where the layout of the paths indicates the gathering place of an ancient settlement, and indeed again aligned northwards towards Sparenburg, at the point where a stopping place must be expected due to the elevation.

At some point, people in the Jöllenbeck area were faced with the question: where shall we establish the court? And in the Bierener area, people at some point asked: where should our meeting place be?

That the people of Jöllenbeck and Bierener, when choosing their sites, both blindly settled on the sacred line of the Sparenburg is in itself hard to believe, but all the less so the more frequently we now encounter the same phenomena.

3. Ärche Werther (north-west of the Bielefeld Hünenburg) — 7'/- km — Aw 0.3° Steinhagen Church — 6Z4 km — Aw 0.3" Isselhorst Church near Gütersloh — southern point.

Continuing northwards, the line intersects the crossroads at ‘Piepenbrink’.

The name appears several times at signalled stations, and, according to my findings so far, almost exclusively there. Like Klockenbrink, Dönberg, Heulmeier, Klapperberg, Sackpfeife, Flötepfeife etc., it is likely to be connected with the audible signals that were given from these watchtowers alongside the light signals.

The fact that three old churches in large settlements within a sparsely populated rural area are oriented towards the North Pole as a fourth point immediately catches the eye and demands serious attention, particularly as the ruler laid out along the meridian, after careful measurement, reveals the precision evident here. A special legend is associated with the site of the church in Werther, with its old ‘Romanesque’ tower. The exemption of the ‘Wichbold e’ in Werther and ‘in der Halle’ from public service is likely to be connected with cultic obligations. The maps show nothing at the crossing points of this line over the Teutoburg Forest; whether any traces can still be discerned remains to be ascertained. Steinhagen already had an old chapel* before its separation from Dornberg in 1334.

Just as impressive as the Werther line is a row of churches north of Hanover in the Lüneburg Heath, where churches are even rarer.

3. Suderbruch Church — 6'/r km — Aw 0.1° Church. Schwarmstedt — 10 km — Thören — 10 km — Aw 0.3" Winsena Church on the Aller — eastern point.

- Scharen 1 c. II, pp. 277–79.

In addition to the unmistakable orientation of these three churches towards the eastern point, we must also note the occurrence of the name ‘Thören’ for a small village on this eastern line, midway between Schwarmstedt and Winsen, where a staging post was necessary due to the distance.

At the outset of my investigations, I deliberately avoided the question of names, which, with this Thören, more seriously intrudes upon our discussion, in order to avoid the confusion so easily arising from names and to first gain firmer ground beneath my feet. Soon, however, certain names began to appear with such consistency and in such a way that I could no longer overlook them. I shall therefore not suppress the important names that appear along these lines in my exposition.

The degree of angular deviation must be omitted in cases where we can initially rely only on the names. For, particularly in the case of close-range measurements, a sufficiently well-defined point must be available. This issue is of little significance in all cases where the stations in question are not situated at higher elevations, but rather at locations which are likely situated on the sacred line primarily for reasons of religious significance, yet which could then be used as intermediate stations for relaying fire signals in foggy weather.

The names alone have on several occasions made my work easier in locating the other, more precisely defined sites, which then provided a point of reference. These names also include ‘Tören, Thören, Dören, Döhren, Dooren, Doren, Dorn’ etc. I have been personally familiar with the wide variety of pronunciations of the Low German word for ‘tower’ right up to the present day since childhood; t, th, d merge linguistically into one another, and the vowel is usually not represented at all in writing. The idea that the t cannot phonetically become a d is contradicted by practical experience. Most Dören etc. seem to me to have nothing to do with thorns, but rather to mean ‘tower’. The possibility of sound shift is most clearly confirmed by the spelling of Dornberg in the 12th century; at that time, Kirchdornberg near Bielefeld was called ‘Th o r n b ergo n’ (see Example 14). What is surprising here, however, is that the meaning of ‘tower’ for ‘Döre n’ seems to have faded from popular memory. But it no longer strikes me as improbable that the literate people of the 9th century, in accordance with Deuteronomy, may have intervened and brought about the alteration of the name and its meaning. In Example 16, the name of a forest settlement will be of great assistance to us. — Incidentally, in our case the rules of sound shift are ineffective for this reason, because the tower and indeed the memory of it were absent, so that the linguistic laziness of the Low Germans, who prefer to say ‘d’ rather than ‘t’, had free rein. I have had to endure this bad habit constantly with my own name.

As for all the other villages whose names do not refer to a tower, the origin of their names is likewise not to be found in the common thorn bush, but in the thorn hedge that surrounded the sanctuaries. Among these thorns, the ‘Hülsen’ (ilox) were of primary importance.

The tower was evidently one of the forms in which the ancients designed their sacred buildings. Both the towers and the bells

The Christian churches must be regarded as a legacy of Germanic culture. The earliest church buildings in the Mediterranean countries, like their models—the temple structures—had no towers; bells did not appear until the 7th century, by which time contact with Germanic culture had already become close, and when a great many Germanic customs had been adopted by Christianity. The bells, which had served the Germanic cult, were, it seems, initially sought to be destroyed or sunk into water
— hence the many legends of sunken bells. But then came the ‘baptism of the bells’, whereby the old bells were made suitable for Christian worship; and they were then hung in a tower next to the church. Whether — wise as they were — they also left one or two old towers standing and ‘rebaptised’ them as well, I shall neither assert nor deny. In any case, the dogma that the Gernians never built with lime mortar, whilst other peoples had long since been using it, has become obsolete for us on the grounds set out (Chap. 7).

Following on from ‘Thören’, I cannot resist drawing attention to a number of lines featuring towers.

The first arouses interest partly because of its length of over 100 km and partly because of a number of striking names.

3. Thören (near Schwarmstedt) — (Lister Tower near Hanover — 32.4 km —?) —· 6 km — “Dörener Turm” church — 2.5 km — Schl. church Wilkenburg — 5Vs km — Pattensen Church — km — AuSs.T. via Marienburg — 11 km — isolated Feldberg Church — 8 km — Lütgenholz Cemetery (Grenzzipscl) — 4 km — Hohenbüchen Forest House Cemetery — 21 km — Seilz Tower, Forest House.

If it were to turn out that the Lister Tower near Hanover, which I have placed in brackets, once stood to the side of the present building within the park bisected by the line, then this line would thus offer us no fewer than five towers. But even without the Lister Tower, it is noteworthy for the numerous interesting sites and names that mark its route, and for its length.

Nor are there entirely lacking any notable points along the route between Thören near Winsen and the Lister or Dohrener Tower near Hanover (e.g. the nearby north-eastern location of the Hainhaus).

In the sandy lowlands, where earthworks are subject to rapid decay, we have little to expect. Yet even there, the orientation was evident, as the following line shows. It also brings us a tower.

3. Kattenturm, south of Bremen — 5'/- kin — Aw 0.05" Bremen Cathedral — 11 km — Aw 0.05° St. Jürgen — 6 lein — Osterholz Cemetery (not the church) — North Point.

According to the Bremen Chronicle, the Kattenturm, which was demolished in 1803, was built in 1309 at the point where the road to Brinkum crosses the Ochtum. This means that its exact location is now known to us. I had the geographical location of the stations on this line precisely determined at the Imperial Office for Land Surveying — along with a few others — in order to ascertain the significance of any potential errors on the maps. The tower, the cathedral, the old monastery in the solitude! These three points, emerging from the north line with almost absolute precision, possess a simple, compelling power. Subsequently, I have also had the undoubted cultic significance of Oesterholz—where there is also an old horse market—confirmed by experts. The critic must grapple with such phenomena individually.

Bremen prompted me to turn my attention to Minden and Osnabrück, and there I found towers along the lines once again.

3. Minden Cathedral — 314 km — Aw 0.4° ‘Pilgrimage’ mill — 1>/- km — ‘Thoren’ — North Point. The name ‘Thoren’ is marked on the map as a cluster of houses. I haven’t been able to investigate yet, but the name at this location speaks volumes. The same goes for the pilgrimage mill. Why did people make a pilgrimage specifically to this spot, situated on the astronomical north line of Minden Cathedral?

3. Cathedral Square in Osnabrück, monument — 10 km — Aw 0.8° “Lechten”berg, crossroads. (The current observation tower has been erected 75 m from the crossroads.) — 4 km — Azimuth 1.0° Observation tower near Schledehausen — km — Natinger military camp — B/-> lein — Azimuth 0.35° Castle ruins on the Limberge — Eastern point.

Here we have, as an impressive endpoint, a castle ruin surrounded by ancient ring walls, as well as a ‘Lechten’berg and a tower. The following investigation also led to a Limberge. The word ‘Dorn’ in Kirchdornberg, north-west of Bielefeld, led me to wonder whether a tower might be meant here too.

3. Kirch dornberg — 16 km — Aw 0.25° Hünenburg near Riemsloh — 6 lein — Limburg (Lim — Linde).

This investigation proved worthwhile in two respects. Historically, as already noted, I discovered that the place was still called ‘Thorn-bergon’ in the 12th century, thereby confirming my assumption that the meaning of ‘Dorn’ and thus also of ‘Dören’ in many mountain and place names is indeed ‘tower’. This is extremely valuable for our research. The Germanic meaning of Dornberg is also evident from the fact that it was the site of an ancient court^. Furthermore, drawing this line served as a guide to locating the Riemsloh Hunenburg, the location of which I did not know.

From the perspective of the ‘tower’ meaning, the ‘Dörenberg’ near Sternberg in Lippe arouses keen interest.

3. Hillentrup Church — km — Aw 0.4" T.P. Dörenberg near Sternberg — 14 km — Aw 0.1° Arzen Church — 9 km — Aw 0.1° Kirchohsen Church — eastern point. (For the north-south line, see Example 2S.)

The summit of the Dörenberg exhibits a very peculiar disturbance and disturbance of the ground, which is highly unlikely to have been caused by the beginnings of a quarry. Stone carts have never travelled to this spot; well-trodden paths lead instead to the quarry situated 150 metres away. The topographical map shows three megalithic tombs and the word ‘Auss.’, although the forest now blocks the view. Trigonometric point 393.1 lies at roughly the same altitude, 100 metres away. Our local guide showed us a spot within the disturbance measuring about 25 square metres and reported that the local inhabitants have been making their vows at this desolate site of devastation since time immemorial. One recalls the first Edict of Nanzigl, which I mentioned earlier. The edict has thus not entirely achieved its purpose. The religious sentiment of our Lower Saxons, rooted in this place, could not be driven away from the sacred site, even though the deepest foundations of the structure, and perhaps even the bedrock beneath, had been torn out! There is something moving about this. From the name of the mountain, we can see that the sacred structure must have been a tower.

* Journal of German History and Archaeology, Münster 1880, p. 96.

But there is more. The summit of the Dörenberg served as a vantage point for an old fortified camp situated a short distance away, 30 metres lower down, which has come to be known as the Polackenschanze. History tells us that it was built by the Hussites for the siege of Sternburg and was equipped with a cannon. It may well be that it once served this purpose, but the idea that the immense labour involved in constructing this camp—to which, moreover, two massive moats led from a distance of several hundred metres—was carried out by a passing Hussite troop for the aforementioned purpose is, for military and simple common-sense reasons, simply unbelievable. Until new excavations shed more light on the matter than those carried out so far, we are, given the proximity of the mountain sanctuary, forced to assume that Germanic hands built the ramparts, and that the camp may have been reused at a later date.

The character of the Dörenberg is further enhanced by the name of a small hamlet situated on the mountainside 1 km to the south-east, known as ‘Hohensonne’. It is not unlikely that the name is connected with the mountain sanctuary. It is worth noting that the entire mountain, of which the Dörenberg is the summit, is called ‘Sternberg’. The castle (later the head forester’s office) was the manor house and gave the surrounding countryside its name and coat of arms. A highly intriguing ring wall, ‘Altsternberg’, situated 2½ km away, presents a mystery that has not yet been solved by the foundation walls and shards found there.

We may now safely identify the ‘Dörenschlucht’ in the Teutoburg Forest, familiar from discussions of the Battle of Varus, as the ‘Tur m schlucht’. There are further reasons in favour of this interpretation. In the Sennesand, which partly covers this gorge entirely in thick dunes, thorns cannot grow now and probably never have been able to since the Ice Ages. So why ‘Dornen-schlucht’? But now there is something else that confirms our assumption most convincingly. The forest district bears the now incomprehensible name

‘Wahr’. But in the old documents it is written ‘W ahrde’ I

When I visited the Dörenschlucht a few months ago, I discovered an old military camp with still clearly visible ramparts on the imposing hill immediately above the Retlager springs, which are regarded as sacred and are much frequented for their beauty. An excavation undertaken with School Inspector Schwanold has led to no other conclusion. The camp itself was the ideal location for a Luginsland and a pyre on the pass summit of this varied gorge landscape. On the rampart at its highest point, near the edge of the hill where the hill slopes down in a strikingly careful funnel shape towards one of the springs, there is an embankment already opened by urn hunters, resembling a large megalithic tomb, upon which the tower must have stood. Finally, a northern line is also evident for the Dörenschlucht — as a ‘tower gorge’ — characterised by at least two notable points, for which the hill on the embankment above the springs, just discussed, is designated as a survey point.

3. Dörenschlucht (Teutoburg Forest) — 10 lcm — Aw 0.05° Friedh. Waddenhausen — m/r err. — Aw 0.1° Steinbecker Warte (ridge north of Salzuflen) — North Point.

The Ter Waddenhauser cemetery, which was necessary as a waypoint for the beacons at night and in poor visibility halfway along this route and is situated precisely in the right place, has already been mentioned in our example No. 3. Where such junctions occur, they serve to undermine the validity of the assumption regarding both lines. The present-day ruins of the Steinbecker watchtower in the saddle of the Salzuflen mountain range are certainly to be regarded as a medieval structure; however, this naturally says nothing against the use of this excellent site in prehistoric times – on the contrary! New finds bear witness to this.

If ‘Dören’ can also mean ‘tower’, then all the hills and places in Germany more commonly named with this word become suspect as having been the sites of oriented watchtowers.

The following example of a tower has been of personal value to me. As it lacks a winter measurement, I have left it unnumbered.

‘Mieters Heimer Turm’ — 10 lem — Königsberg T.P. (Porta) — 5 km — ‘Auf dem Leuchten’ near Veltheim — 13 Krn — Bavenhäuser Mühlenberg — 19 lcm — Malstatt in the Leistrup Forest — Southern point.

When I was a boy, my father once stood me in front of the then still-standing ruins of the Wietersheim Tower, after which a few houses in his parish were named, and said: “What on earth could have prompted people to build a tower on this very spot?” Now this tower appears to me as a link in the chain mentioned above.

We shall return to the ‘places of light’, and I also reserve the right to provide a more detailed explanation of this example involving the painting site in the Leistrup Forest at a later date.

3. Burg — 4.4 km — “Hai n” red — 8 km — Sackpfeife (north of Biedenkopf) — 15 km — Aw 0.3° Christenberg Church — 22 km — Mlsenberg Church — 4.4 km — Teufelsberg — Eastern point.

The name ‘Christenberg’ can plausibly only originate from the period of conversion, during which a likely harshly pagan name for the place dedicated to ‘idolatry’ — perhaps at the inhabitants’ own request — was transformed into a distinctly Christian name. The great significance of Christenberg for Germanic prehistory has subsequently been confirmed to my satisfaction by experts. — For ‘bagpipe’, see example 31 under ‘flute-pipe’.

From the large number of orientation lines I have identified so far, on which the locations of the current observation towers appear and provide a clearly defined reference point for the measurements, I shall first provide further examples here without explanation and only in fragmentary form, mainly in connection with observation towers.

3. Wittelindsburg, Porta — 13 km — Deviation 0.1° Idaturm observation tower near Bückeburg — 30 km — Deviation 0.05° Annaturm observation tower in the Deister — Eastern point.
4. Obs.T. Idaturm near Bückeburg — 3.5 km — Aw 0.5" P. 187 above Todemann castle ruins — 3.5 km — Aw 0.1° StiMirche Rinteln — ('/- km Abdeckerei!) — Nottberg via Thie and Hilgenplatz — 814 km — Aw 0.1° Almena Church — South Point.
5. Junction via Ahrenfeld — 6.1 km — Aw 0.1° Junction via Deinsen — Eastern point
6. Eastern boundary via Ahrenfeld — 4 km — Deviation 0.1° Oldendorf Church — Northern point.
7. Lauensteinberg — 2 km — Aw 0.3° Bisperode Church — West point.
8. Lauenstein — 12 km — Aw 0.2" Königszinne near Bodenwerder — South point.
9. Ext. T. north-east of Stadtoldendorf — 2 km — Aw 0.05° Homburg ruins — North point.

3. “Döhrenlops” — 2.5 km — Deisterwarle — 6 km — Azimuth 0.05° “Burg” south-east of Altenhagen I. — Southern point.
4. Beinling (north-west of Borgholzhausen) — 1.5 km — Deviation 0.05° Wellingholzhausen Church — Northern point.
5. Eastern point: Ebberg (near Hillegossen, Bielefeld) — 15′/- km — Deviation 0.3" Johannissleine near Lage — 2V- km — 0.5" Heiden Church — Eastern point.
6. Outer point Ebberg — 12′/r km — Aw 0.6" School with bell tower (now Laar Chapel) — 12 km — Aw 1.1" Bünde Church — 8 km Aw 1.2" Babilonie, elevation 295.3 — Northern point.

Our Dörenberg near Sternberg (No. 15) was also a stop on a northern ski route:

3. Old watchtower on the Dickerberg — 7.1 km — Galgenkuhle — 2 km — Aw 0.75" Dörenberg near Sternberg — Northern terminus.

Fig. 72. Dickerberg Watchtower

I have included a picture of the ruins of the ‘old watchtower’ on the Dickerberg, which was already mentioned in the chapter on Theotmalli as a structure very similar to the ‘Detmold watchtower’. The assumption that it was once an oriented beacon tower of the ancient cult, the complete destruction of which was neglected for some reason, is far more probable than the mere view of the old v. Donop o p . cit., that it was a a medieval watchtower built by a Count of Lippe

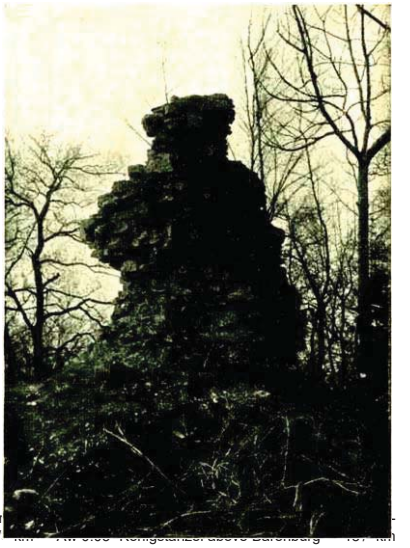
With a diameter of approximately 3.80 m, the circular tower stump, built of lime mortar, has a square hole measuring 55 × 55 cm at its centre, which completely precludes a person from standing inside or climbing up it, so that it cannot be considered a medieval watchtower. Ter Schlot has an outward-facing opening at the bottom, which appears to have been 40 cm in size. The circumstances are exactly the same at the Ziegenberg watchtower (Fig. 73), 3 km from Horn, with its vast burial ground.

A wall 114 cm thick surrounding a hole with a diameter of 1/2 cm must have served a purpose either in itself or in creating a raised surface, which in any case was not, or not primarily, intended for observation. For that purpose, the hole in the centre would have been not only pointless but counterproductive.

I cannot think of any other halfway reasonable explanation for the Turin stump other than that it served as a raised base for a woodpile, with fuel fed in from below. Further evidence of its cultic significance includes: 1. its name ‘Teufelsturm’ or ‘Teufelsloch’, by which the local inhabitants refer to it, preserving the memory of the ancient place of worship; 2. its

orientation, with Galgenkuhle, Grotenburg and the mountain sanctuary on the Dörenberg—already discussed in Example 15—lying on a north-south axis.

A small earthwork appears to have been constructed close to the tower, at a distance of 2 metres, serving as an enclosure. Incidentally, I found no building remains or ramparts in the simple, secluded woods of this narrow mountain ridge. As the forest completely obscures the magnificent view that must exist in the distance, the high number of visitors to the tower stump in this area—untouched by tourists and sparsely populated—is striking; countless names carved into the trees bear witness to the fact that these meagre ruins in this unattractive spot in the forest exert a remarkable attraction on the local inhabitants (cf. Example 15).



The resilience of the old courts, which retained their character through the great upheavals of the Carolingian era, is generally acknowledged. The people, from whom virtually everything of value — even the land itself, through the introduction of the feudal system — had been taken from them or at least transformed, did not have to endure the loss of the traditional places of justice as well. A considerable proportion of the gallows hills can be traced back to the Germanic period.

3. East of Wolfen-
büttel) — 39.1 km — scale 0.4"
mountain chapel near Ott-
bergen — 7>/? Irrn — Gallows Hill near
km — Aw 0.6" Wittenburg Church — 4'/
— Aw 0.16" Fischbeck Collegiate Church — 19'/- km
— Aw 0.3° Stöckerbcrg, stone burial mound T.P. 240.5 — II'/> lcm — Aw 0.5° Val-dorf Church — 20 km — Opserfcld-Engern — 19>Z> km — Aw 0.65" South of Beutling (north-west of Borgholzhausen) — Western point.

This line appears to be one of the few major signal lines whose traces can be seen throughout the entire territory of the Saxon Confederation. I have not been able to attribute the orientation in the Hildesheim area to chance, although e v e n here several mountain crossings remain entirely unexplained. Even if such a phenomenon were to occur in isolation, it would remain a mystery. I have also included the disturbed and very patchy section of this line from Fischbeck westwards, because I believe it supports its probability

I can report on the event through which my theory proved itself for the first time as a means of locating unknown features. Along this route there was a spot which, given its elevation, must necessarily have supported a boundary cairn. It must have stood on one of the two points of equal height on the same ridge: the Wirksberg or the 240.5-metre elevation of the Stöckerberg. I asked a young archaeologist living nearby, Mr Meier-Böke, to check these two points to see if anything could still be found on the precisely marked east-west line. His report to me reads as follows: 'And now for the surprising part: exactly 60 m west of elevation 240.5, from the TP stone standing next to the Hessian-Lippe boundary stone (1669, date), a stone mound rises below the line. Unfortunately, it has been too badly eroded. Farmers or others have used it as a quarry; it is a pure stone burial mound, higher than the two at and around 283.6. About 11 m high at the preserved highest point. Diameter — about 14–15 m. An enormous feat of stonework from the early Bronze Age. Both the compass and the X on the TP indicated good orientation, perhaps deviating slightly south of the east–west direction."

I then visited the site with the surveyor and with School Inspector Schwanold, who confirmed Meier-Böken's view. The significance of such grave finds at points along our lines where sacred watchtowers must have stood is illustrated by the following line, all the points of which I shall name, even if, in the case of some, there is nothing more to say than that they simply lie on the line.

3. Marienfeld Church (north-west of Gütersloh) — 8 km — Jssclhorst Church — 12 km — Krals Church — 4.5 km — Megalithic burial mounds at Bartelslrug — 3.5 km — Aw 0.4° Hünentirche in the Tönsberg camp — 1.5 km — Ttckenpohl — 1.5 km — Aw 0.1° Stapelage Church — Hiddentrup — 3 km — Pivitsheide Cemetery — 2 km — Schwarzen Brinl (Megalithic tomb) — 8 km — Hohenwart near Detmold — 3.4 km Niederschönhagen — 1 km Flötpseife 207.2 — 2 km Mossenberger Himmel — 2.5 km Friedh. Istrup — 3 km "Altblomberg" — 5 km Gr. Heimberg — 1 km — Aw 0.05" Heerlingsburg, T.P. 334.6 in the camp. — Eastern point. — Total distance 63 km — Aw between Hünen- tirche and Herlingsburg 0.05°.

The northern line from Jsselhorst had already become familiar to us in our Example No. 8. Here we have one of the eastern lines, which ranks among the most extensive and is undoubtedly characterised by a great many remarkable intermediate stations. It alone would provide ample material for a special essay. I would like to address here a few thoughts to which it gives rise.

I have included Herlingsburg, with its striking hilltop location in this area, in Fig. 74, based on an older drawing. The castle plays a significant role not only in tradition as the residence of Hermann the Cheruscan, but Wasserbach also considers it to be the site where a statue of the liberator of Germania once stood. That he confuses this statue—which, incidentally, is not poorly attested—with the Jrminsul—the world pillar that supports all things—is understandable given the name and the obscurity surrounding these matters. The fact that Charlemagne devoted particular attention to this region and spent several months in Lügde in 784 also makes the assumption almost a certainty that Lügde, with Herlingsburg, was the capital of the former Cheruscan district, just as Teutoburg-Paderborn once was

as was later the case with the federal capital. I agree with Schuchhardt's view that the Germanic princes did not reside on these castle hills at all, but rather from the associated large manorial estates, in this case probably the estate at Schieber. Hermann may have held his allod here.

Furthermore, the characteristic of Herlingsburg as a tri-border area, already discussed in the Kötcrberg example No. ü, rules out the possibility that it was ever a residential castle whilst such ownership structures prevailed. The configuration of the border should be examined in

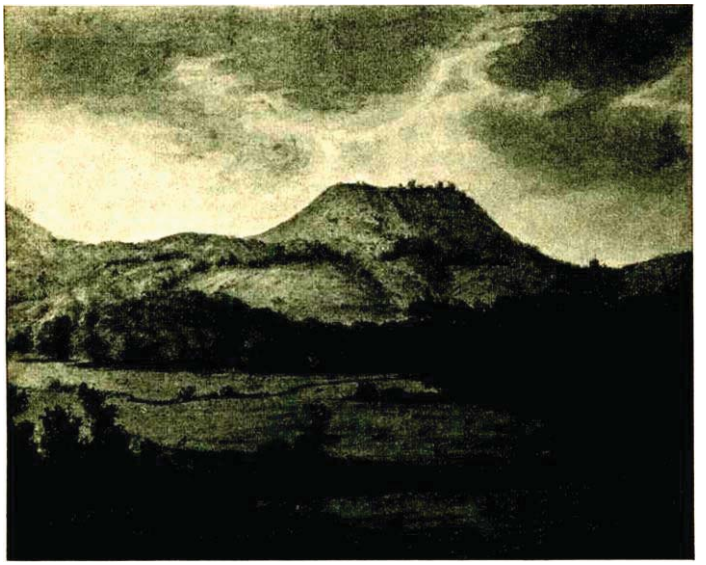


Fig. 74. The Herlingsburg

Let us take a closer look at our map on page 21k>. The reason why the Pyrmont district reserved this economically unproductive and troublesome, yet militarily utterly pointless stretch of land—with its ravine path leading right up to the highest point—can only have been an idealistic one. The sacred alignment line Herlingsburg – Hünenkirche (the location of which on the elongated Tönsberg is determined by the Herlingsburg) confirms to us the cultic significance of the Herlingsburg, as we have found at the Teutoburg, the Köterberg, etc. Adjacent to Herlingsburg is a 'Spielberg'. The fact that this castle also served as a gathering place for the military contingent, as a fortress in times of military emergency, and probably for other public functions of the three districts is evidenced by the discovered traces of all manner of dwellings

— this is the case at the former

The close connection between religious and other aspects of public life is a matter of course. Further speculation as to whether this hill was constructed in a similar manner to some of the examples cited by Willy Pastor (such as the Walburg near Obergänserndorf in Austria) may be left to the future.

The altitudes of the two main points, the Hünenkirche and the Herlingsburg, are 332.0 and 834.2 metres respectively, i.e. virtually the same. As the intervening elevations do not reach this height, in good weather direct communication via fire signals was possible over the long distance between the two large encampments. But in the event of less clear air, intermediate stations would have had to be in place. (The elevation figure in Fig. 71 is a misprint in the survey map.)

If, then, a line such as the one in question shows, beyond this necessity, a whole number of intermediate sites for which such a position below the line was unmistakably chosen deliberately, this again reveals the ancients' strong preference for these sacred lines, rooted in religious sentiment, and a powerful attraction to them.

It is as though the ancients, before finally choosing a site of importance to them, had first consulted a priest familiar with the practice of orientation. For even the location of these intermediate points, as far as we can verify from the maps, tends to deviate only slightly from the line running across them, usually by less than 2 mm on the survey map (— 50 m in reality) — provided a survey point is available. This is a level of accuracy that an untrained person could no longer achieve even at a distance of just a few kilometres from the other survey point. In most cases, it was even absolutely necessary to agree on signals with a second fire watchman, who could make his presence known behind the other survey point.

The preference for aligning with the sacred orientation line was evident not only in the layout of thing sites, but also sometimes played a role in the choice of burial sites for distinguished individuals. This is evident at two points along the Tönsberg line, as I have observed elsewhere. Excavations have recently been carried out successfully at Bartelskrug. At Schwarzenbrink, both Tappesche's burial map from 1820 and the survey map indicate the presence of megalithic tombs. At the top of the hill where the monument must have stood, I found a hole that cannot otherwise be explained, which again suggests a foundation wall that has been torn out.

The Christian custom of being buried near the church – or, if one was of sufficiently high standing, within the church itself – is likely a direct continuation of an ancient Germanic tradition. The pharaohs in Egypt, too, sought their final rest with the deity in their sanctuary. I had the same success on the Saalberg near Alverdissen (cf. Example No. 3) as on the Stöckerberg near Langenholzhausen (Example No. 30), where, on my instructions, we searched for traces of a landmark that had once stood there. In the farmland that now lies on the hill, nothing more was to be found, and the actual pyre that must have stood here seems to have vanished without a trace; but lying on the line, hidden in the copse, was a

partly layered, partly piled-up mound of stones was found, which gave the impression of a stone burial mound; its significance remains to be investigated.

In light of all this, it would seem a mistaken assumption that the development progressed from a burial site to a place of worship; rather, it was the other way round. But the most likely scenario is that both arose simultaneously, when a world beyond this one revealed itself to the human spirit. Under certain circumstances, graves can serve as signposts to the locations where places of worship once stood! By abandoning that misconception, such marvellous Old Germanic monuments as those we have before us, for example the Glaner and Visbecker Brides and the Visbecker Bridegroom, acquire their full and profound significance. We learn to regard them as what they actually were: mightily fortified memorial sites, which were already sanctified as religious places of worship for the sake of the sacrifices and the jurisdiction; that is precisely why the graves are also found within and around them! Thus, my remarks on the hill sanctuary in the Oesterholzer Mark are also confirmed by the experiences gained whilst studying the locational phenomena. The Stonehenge question and all similar questions should be considered and answered from this perspective. We must learn once again to bear in mind that our ancestors lived, ruled and worked, believed, sacrificed and prayed, and then died. (Cf. Prof. Hahne, Totenehre.)

The passing centuries, coupled with the unprecedented hostility of virtually all those concerned Circumstances, foremost among them the will of those who saw the destruction of Germanic culture as a prerequisite for thorough Romanisation and Christianisation, have left us, admittedly, with almost nothing tangible to explore our Germanic past, save for graves—time and again, nothing but graves—and the meagre remains of hill forts and settlements. These latter are meagre because, in what we find, we generally see only the settlements of the unfree and the common folk, whilst the stately dwellings of the truly free people — as has already been discussed above — were built over by subsequent generations and therefore have nothing more to offer us.

Thus it is that it causes great astonishment when, on occasion, a chance discovery opens our eyes and reveals the true cultural state of the ancients.

Along our Lönsberg line, the Mossenberg Heaven, which has also fallen into oblivion in this region, emerges with great certainty. Only among the nearest residents is the site still the subject of legend. Concepts of heaven and hell (hell conceived only as the underworld, not as a place of punishment) were, albeit in manifold variations, common to the ancient peoples.

I have visited the site and believe that it is bound to make an impression on anyone who has tried to immerse themselves in the mindset of our ancestors. Through immense labour, a small valley, approximately 40 metres wide and 150 metres long, has been carved out of the mountainside here, widening the course of the spring. This gushes forth at the end of the high-walled, bush-covered little valley and has been widened there into a small pond. The horizontal area on the mountainside is used as farmland by the current owner, despite its damp location.

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So t h i s was one of the places where our ancestors symbolically imagined the entrance of souls into the afterlife! Whether the remaining three or four similarly named sites in this area also make such an impression as the Mossenberger Himmel, I shall endeavour to find out. The sacred alignment runs across the upper part of the Mossenberger Himmel. Similar sites with similar names can be found throughout Germania.

Preuß, who rendered great service in the early 1890s by compiling the field names of the Lippe region, was steeped in the materialistic mindset that characterised the academic world of his time. He, too, knew nothing—absolutely nothing—about a Germanic spiritual life in pre-Christian times that might have been connected to the place-names of this local area. However, since such connections are in fact abundant here, it is astonishing and sometimes amusing to read how people at that time sought to avoid acknowledging such links. Regarding names containing 'Himmel', P. has nothing more to say than: 'for some of these names, one might perhaps be permitted to suggest a reinterpretation from "H imbeere"'!

As recently as 1488, this Mossenberg was still known as 'tom Ossenbergs'. Even P. is forced to admit here that he links the surname Osing, from which he derives the mountain's name, with ans, as os — deus. There is also an Asenberg, an Asemissen and an Assemissen in this region; a part of the Teutoburg Forest is called
'Osning' — Asenegge. Regarding the 'Qsenberge' with the same etymological meaning, P. remarks: 'Probably from its "os-shaped" form!' Astonishing! That must surely be the height of contrived, implausible interpretations.

One might ask: did people really believe that our ancestors were mute dogs who gave no names to their mountains and sites? Or that, with the introduction of Christianity, the people suddenly cast aside all their traditional place-names and replaced them with new ones? That is simply impossible, even though at that time the priests and monks did everything in their power to mutilate and eradicate the names derived from the cult of the gods. This was rooted in the method by which Christianity was introduced into Germania from the time of Charlemagne onwards. We must and will speak of it tirelessly. In stark contrast to the original spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Roman Church of that time had reverted to the outlook of the Old Testament in all matters which seemed useful to it for the strengthening and expansion of its power. In subjugating Germania to the Church, one was obedient to the letter of a commandment and aligned oneself with it, as is written in Deuteronomy 12:2–3:

"Destroy all the places where the pagans have worshipped their gods, whether on high mountains, on hills or under trees; tear down their altars, smash their pillars, burn their groves and the images of their gods with fire, and wipe out their names from those very places."

Yes, so it is written: the names too were to be blotted out! In droves, where churches, monasteries and chapels were built on the sites of the old sanctuaries

had been established, the existing place names were to be supplanted! Names referring to saints were the preferred replacements. Where, however, it was not possible to give the places a Christian character, and where the aforementioned ‘Satanisation’ had failed or was not feasible, attempts were made over time to alter the names or their meaning. It is surprising that so many names have nevertheless survived in which we can still recognise connections to the Germanic past.

When the retained old names, whose cultic significance had gradually sunk into oblivion, were written differently by the literate or otherwise—

Fig. 75. The Hüiicnkirchc near Ocrlinghausc»

As these changes took place, the people gradually began to believe that the learned scholars must surely know better and that their spelling was correct, whilst their own customary pronunciation was wrong. For example, when a decree was issued regarding a “Hühnerberg”, which must have been called “Hünenberg”, or the aforementioned ‘Köterberge’ – this is likely to have been the fate of countless other names, all the more so as the conscious desire for change of the early days was later supplanted by the unbeatable incomprehensibility of the humanism espoused by the educated classes, and unconsciously found an ally in it.

I recently came across a more recent instance of the suppression of an old name, which is likely attributable to the desire of scholarly gentlemen to appear more knowledgeable, when I examined the mighty and well-preserved foundation walls of the castle ruins recorded as ‘Frankenburg’ on the Rinteln map sheet

Todemann visited. When I asked the farmer, who lived just a few hundred metres away, for directions to the ‘Frankenburg’, he looked at me uncertainly for a moment and said: ‘You mean the Hünenburg, don’t you?’ — That is a distortion of the tradition! I felt ashamed, as I may have contributed to making the farmer believe that it really was a
“Franken”burg – that was its name, and he must now call it that. I regret this all the more because — having reached the top and standing before this magnificent, neatly excavated and virtually complete ground plan — I recalled the excavation of the castle by the Medical Councillor Weiß, whom I knew well, and was forced to think of the wholly inadequate reasons that had led to this castle being reclassified as a Frankish— mainly on the basis of the ceramic and other finds, the exact replicas of which are labelled as ‘Frankish’ in our museums.

Schuchhardt retains the Hllnenburg’s traditional name. He appears to attach great importance to a small room, barely 15 square metres in size, attached to the castle wall and featuring an ‘apse’ 114 centimetres wide. He interprets a cylindrical pit adjacent to it as a visowa sacra (sacred fish pond) ‘for the waste from the altar’, and describes the feature as a rare early example. If this could have been a Christian chapel at all, then it is most plausibly explained by the assumption that it was built in at a later date. In any case, neither the finds nor the structure itself provide any evidence that this Hünenburg did not originate in pre-Christian times. In particular, the reference to the lime mortar must, of course, be rejected as evidence against a pre-Carolingian origin. We have already discussed in the section on the Kohlstadt ruins just how paralysing such an assumption—built purely on negative grounds based on incorrect premises and uncertain dating of finds—must have been for research into the Germanic past.

The situation is similar with regard to the ‘Hünenkirch e’ in the Tönsberg camp, which lies along our route. The name has undoubtedly been left as it is, but it is built of lime mortar and is said to have been constructed as a Christian chapel, even though its architectural style rules out such an assumption and one is compelled to date the origin of the settlement to at least the boundary between the Saxon and Frankish periods. -See Fig. 75, which depicts the altar wall. The large door opening, which was bricked up at a later date, is a feature entirely incompatible with a chancel. Furthermore, the necessary symmetry of the chancel layout is lacking. There are buttresses on the exterior; however, these were added later to create the appearance of a Christian chapel. Noteworthy is the outline of a barrel vault, which bears witness to the orderly, necessary course of development that, after a few centuries, led to the monumental achievements of cathedral vaults. In front of this room lies a second room of equal size — a floor plan that would be unacceptable for a Christian place of worship.

Of course, the late dating of the Hünenkirche is again based on a few finds. As if a similar development to that on Gallic soil could not have taken place on Germanic soil among a Germanic people, as a result of the inter-ethnic exchange of manufacturing knowledge or as a result of trade in certain everyday objects! And if the Frankish or Merovingian forms, etc., in turn show Roman influences, the situation remains exactly the same. Nothing, absolutely nothing, stands in the way of this idea

than the ‘reluctant cultural history’ so aptly lambasted by Kossinna, to which Matthias Koch lent that classic expression (page 11)i. There is no more pressing necessity for archaeologists than to eradicate the weeds of this ‘resistance' down to the last root fibre and to replace them with trustworthy objectivity. If not, then it is inevitable that, alongside our specialist archaeology, which confines itself to its ‘Merovingian’ or ‘Frankish’ shards, another archaeology will emerge, one weary of this ‘resistance' and unwilling to forget that, apart from the things one can find in the earth, there are—and have been—many other things in the world.

It may well be that I will be severely criticised by certain quarters for this, but I repeat: it is high time that the standard dating principles of archaeology were, for once, subjected to a review by their proponents from a different perspective. We should content ourselves, for the time being, with evaluating, determining and classifying the finds purely objectively according to their nature, their characteristic features and their interrelationships; we should group them under objective, as neutral as possible names and register them — which has, in fact, already been done for some groups. Above all, let us free precisely those groups whose dating is most important to us (those dating from the time of Christ’s birth to the High Middle Ages) from prematurely historical names! For this creates prejudices regarding the cultural history of this period which rest on an untenable, or at any rate unconscionably narrow, foundation and exert a misleading, directly harmful influence on cultural history.

To my satisfaction, a cautionary voice along these lines can also be clearly heard in Jakob Friesen’s *Grundfragen der Urgeschichtsforschung*. I therefore find myself in good professional company.

And what of earlier periods? For the narrow circle of specialists, narrow-minded terms such as ‘Latene’ and ‘Hallstatt’ may still serve their purpose; but should wider circles really come to terms with them once and for all? We say ‘Roman’; it is time to call Germanic cultural phenomena ‘Germanic’ as well.

Particularly in archaeology, which is advancing in leaps and bounds, becoming stuck in an outdated framework should be carefully avoided. Guild-like inhibitions and ties should be torn apart, as Kossinna once did. But that was a long time ago. We would very much like to live to see the next step.

A highly conspicuous name on the Tönsberg line is still the ‘Flötepfeife’ as the designation for a site where two houses now stand. If it seems self-evident to us that the watchtowers intended for fire signals also served to issue audible signals to the local population, then it is no longer a bold conjecture that the keepers of this station once used to notify their people by means of whistles.

In the case of the ‘Flötepfeife’, we are reminded of example No. 17 with its ‘Sackpfeife’. There is no doubt that all manner of explanations for this rather strange name—considering it is one of the highest mountains (674 m) in the Sauerland—are in circulation. But the correct explanation, which is linked to the mountain’s ancient significance as a place of worship and signalling

site, will have been carefully dispelled many centuries ago. We, however, recall that the resourceful signal keepers of this site, in order to be able to transmit audible signals from the high mountain, resorted to the aid of a bellows, by means of which they could produce siren-like sounds with a very long range. — As for the previous explanation of the name ‘Sackpfeife’, nothing can be found on the matter even in Heßler and Schneider.

Attention should then be drawn to the two places known as ‘Hohenwart’ and ‘Alt-Blomberg’, where nothing of the past remains in the landscape today, not even the holes left by the ancient markings. But the name ‘Hohenwart’—now the name given to a few houses—speaks for itself. As for Alt-Blomberg, we can undoubtedly see a fragment of frozen history in this old place-name, which now merely designates a cultivated hilltop. Looking at this place so named, it becomes clear why the present-day town of Blomberg, with its castle, has no place in the old orientation grid. The fact that a stone axe was found in the Alt-Blomberg area also serves to confirm the ancient settlement of the site.

Apart from the names intended to bring the places into disrepute—such as those associated with the devil and witches, and perhaps also certain ‘Lause’ mountains and the like—we must note the names which, it seems to me, referred to the shape of the landmarks, such as Kruke, Stucken, Pahl and the like, as well as, in accordance with my above explanations, Thören, Dören — tower; furthermore, the names associated with the ancient gods: Köter, Asei, Donner, Goden or Guden, Frigg or Frei. Linguistically, Köterberg cannot have originated from Götterberg, but a multiple, deliberate alteration from ‘God’ or ‘Wod’ is to be assumed.

There can surely be no further disagreement that the countless ‘Easter sites’ are only partly related to the mere compass direction of east, whilst the rest are connected either to the Easter cult prevalent in the late Germanic period, or at least to the Easter fires and Easter celebrations, which are to be regarded as a remnant of that cult. But these Easter sites are so numerous that they can be of use to us in our quest for orientation only in exceptional cases.

As examples of lines offering noteworthy points of both factual importance and names, I would like to cite here two more from the Oldenburg region, where archaeologists are otherwise presented with a rich field of study. Inspired by the distinguished Bremen merchant Adolf Held, who has since been taken from us by death, I discovered three years ago in ‘Loh’, 11 km west of Dötlingen, specifically in the Poggenpohlsland north of the Goldberge, a large field containing the ruins of numerous stone circles (Trojaburgen), the remains of which still await documentation before they disappear entirely as building material.

3. Wachtberg T.P. 50.0 — 10 km — Az 0.05° Dötlingen Church — Court House — Aschenstedt — 9 km — Aw 0.1° Wunderburg (ring walls) — School near the churchless Ekelte — 11 km — Aw 0.2° Barrien Church — Eastern point.
4. Goldenstedt Church, Osterhorn — 16 km — Hünenburg (ring walls) south-east of Twistringen — Wehrenberg — Klageholz — Lichtenberg — Friedh. Bücken — Horst between Altenburg and Donnerhorst — Klotzeburg — total 50 km — Aw 0.3" Kirchwalingen Church — 6'/s km — Aw 0.15° Bierde Church — Karlsberg — Eastern point.

My research had hitherto focused on limited areas of western Germany, particularly Lower Saxony. However, some insights into other regions of Germany reveal that the ancient settlement pattern can also be traced in areas of eastern Germany. Here too, it is evident that the Slavic incursions into eastern Germany, which have made the assessment of the ancient Germanic settlement patterns so extraordinarily difficult, have not been able to completely obliterate the traces of a settlement pattern that was entirely identical to that in western Germany.

It is with particular pleasure that one reads in Max Leichsenring's work* a number of irrefutable proofs of the purely Germanic origins of the culture in the Kingdom of Saxony, the authorship of which has hitherto been attributed, ad nauseam, to non-Germanic peoples.

Viewed from the same perspective, Erich Jung's highly significant research into the evidence of Germanic gods and heroes extending into the Christian era will also help to dispel the much-invoked spectres of foreign cultural influences from the distinctly Germanic regions to which his research primarily relates.

Amidst the villages of Silesia, with their layout entirely different from that seen in western Germany, and with their Slavic names, the many—for the most part ancient German—names bear witness to a culture that is Germanic at its core. Everywhere, the groves, but also the Weinberg and Lichtenberg hills, the Brand, Teufels and Höllenorte, and then the Wachtberg and Wartberg hills (insofar as the latter cannot be adequately explained by their location in medieval and later contexts) remind us of a pre-Christian Germanic past.

The fact that, to my knowledge, there are neither the remains of Germanic hill forts to which a connection might be drawn, nor any unmistakable thing-site churches—since at the time of Silesia's conversion, the demographic and cultural conditions there were entirely different—may well have complicated the investigation, but it did not deter me from noticing two watchtowers in the county of Glatz with an astronomical alignment on the northern horizon. An explanation of the name of these watchtowers at these locations based solely on medieval needs, events or customs could not be found. No ruins are recorded. Moreover, a later use would by no means rule out their use in the preceding period. After obtaining the topographic maps of that area, it became apparent, to dispel any doubt, that there was a third watchtower on precisely this northern line between the other two watchtowers! The previous view regarding the watchtowers could not be ascertained.

3. Wachtberg near Droschlau — Z'/L km — Wachtberg south-east of Neudeck — 15 km — Wachtberg near Grochau — northern point.

On the Wachtberge near Grochau, the survey point for the numerous 'old fortifications' in the vicinity, regardless of the period to which they belong, must have been situated at T.P. '117.8'. A further five trigonometric points, serving as intermediate stations, very clearly mark the course of the north-south line to the central Wachberge above the Leichsenring, 'sacrificial stones and sacred groves of West Saxony'. – E. Jung, Germanic Gods and Heroes in Christian Times, I. F. Lehmann, Munich 1922.

within the “grove” of the princely Camenz Forest. (Ancient Cistercian monastery dating from 1094.)

If this line is considered correct, then the pyre of the central Wachberg stood on the slightly higher hilltop 125 m south-west of T.P. 510.6 (Aw 0.1"). Here, as I have been informed, there is a semicircular meadow bordered by stones, with a large boulder in its centre. Then, after 3′/- km, the southernmost of the three Wachtbergs passes above Oberhannsdorf; interesting reports have reached me regarding the saddle there, where the watchtower must have stood. The continuation of the line runs in a rather erratic manner through the trigonometric points of Rosenbergen and Saucrberg and appears to extend as far as the pilgrimage site of Maria-Schnee. It also touches the Scheibenbusch of the ancient Scheibenhoss near Kunzendorf.

Before surveying this area, I had paid no particular attention to mere elevation figures and trigonometric points. But this last line, which is already extremely clear thanks to its three watchtowers along the short stretch of 19 km, also provides, as we have seen, nine trigonometric elevation figures with remarkable accuracy. It therefore gives me the opportunity to say a word about the significance to be attached to elevation figures when they appear on the lines.

The number of elevation figures on our maps is countless; any given line touches several of them, sometimes even many, so that I initially disregarded them as a matter of principle, regarding them as a testament to the most modern civilisation. But it did strike me that here and there they were downright intrusive; not only on the northern lines, which I might still have understood, but also on the eastern lines. When I enquired at the State Surveying Office, I received an almost identical reply from the two surveying officers I questioned independently of one another: ‘If trigonometric points have the same longitude or latitude, it is pure coincidence; it never happens intentionally.’

From then on, I no longer ignored such phenomena out of hand. Although their sheer number means one must always assume they are coincidental, there are nevertheless enough instances that warrant attention. On reflection, the intrinsic connection between the modern practices of our surveyors and the ancient sites—which are our sole concern—is readily apparent. It is, in essence, the same as what we have already considered in relation to the viewing towers. Whilst the practical surveyor, seeing his marker stone, takes no interest whatsoever in establishing a north or east line, it is nevertheless more convenient for him to select locations that offer a certain view and, if possible, lie conveniently by a path, rather than venturing off into the woods, or even crawling into the undergrowth. Thus, when surveying for a suitable point, surveyors quite instinctively come across, first and foremost, the sites of the old landmarks, which were all selected with a view to unobstructed sightlines and which have often retained their distinction from the surrounding terrain, along with their access routes, over the centuries. Thus, an elevation figure can sometimes indicate the location of the old orientation landmark.

There are several other Wachtbergs in Silesia as well.

3. The Wachtberg near Eichau has the ‘Aspenwies e’ 3 km away on its eastern line at the pass summit and, 2 km further on, a Klapperlapelle (Aw 0.1°).

The Aspenwiese also caught my attention for other reasons, the discussion of which would take us too far afield here. It then also proved to be a

key point for orientation. The summit of the Wachtberg near Eichau has been artificially flattened; peculiar holes may be reminiscent of former structures.

3. The Asp en wie se has a Warthberg not only along its east-west axis but also along its north-south axis, namely the Warthberg south of the small town of Wartha, which still tangibly demonstrates its Germanic significance through its pilgrimage chapels; then, north of Wartha, comes the extensive complex of the Rosentranz chapels, within which T.P. 380.2 may be regarded as the site of a Germanic-era monument. Whether the Klapperberg, situated 7 km south of the Aspenwiese, should also be regarded as belonging to this line remains to be examined; its T.P. lies 125 m west of our line and shows nothing remarkable. But its name perhaps points to auditory signals.

The St Anne's Chapel, situated to the west of Klapperberg, seems to me to be a possible candidate for an eastern route. Although, on the map, only a few control points suggest that the St Anne's Lookout in Dohm Forest is oriented north-south and east-west, a visit might still be worthwhile simply because of its name. Our project requires visit after visit, even if the majority are bound to be in vain for the reasons we know.

Since all place names containing the word 'light' have aroused our interest, I do not wish to overlook Lich-tenwalde in the County of Glatz. The explanation 'clearing in the forest' is so meaningless and implausible that we should only accept it as a last resort. A proper name is meant to individualise and distinguish. A name that merely expresses a concept which applies equally to similar places in the surrounding area is not a proper name. In such cases, an explainer is always on the wrong track. Let us see whether Lichtenwalde might not have a different meaning.

3. The elevation of 640 metres above the Lichtenwalde forest lodge, marked on the map by four wayside shrines, where we must assume the fire that shone far and wide during the Gennancn period, gave the place its name! To the west, nothing is visible from the mountainside, but beyond it lies the church of Stuhlseisen, lying sharply on the line; to the north, there must have been several intermediate stations on the great mountain slope, namely after just 1 km, where the two footpaths converge at the parish boundary, then not far from the Mandelfichte and elevation 681.4 above Eilenburg and Stephansberg; if we then find the church of Neuweistritz on this line 4 km further north, the location of Silesian churches here—as in Stuhlseisen—might also serve as a clue. Nothing is visible to the east.

Before we leave Silesia and look for further place names, I would like to draw attention to the situation in the Breslau district, on which I can only comment with considerable reservation. That there was a Germanic mountain sanctuary on the Zobten, with its cross-shaped church and spring, is surely beyond doubt. Let us recall that the Old Testament-influenced early Christian church was, by its very nature, thoroughly opposed to high-place worship, which in Palestine was counted among the abominations to be combated. W h e t h e r Wilhelmshöhe in the west, Großburg with its church square—which is certainly noteworthy here—in the east, the Wachtberg near Cauth in the north, and the Geiersberg in the south may be counted among the locations of the Zobten is confirmed by experts.

' Recent investigations by Dr Jarmer-Stettin and the Rev. Hirsch-Strehlen. The latter is to be thanked for the local investigations in the County of Glatz.

The location of the Wartberg near Keulendorf, 28 km west of what appears to me to be the oldest settlement site in Breslau, has likewise led to the suggestion of a survey line; one might also ask whether Pohlanwitz and Hochkirch to the north and Mandela to the south of this point do not provide evidence for a north-south line. —

Among the place names containing ‘Licht’, Lichte Nrade, Lichtenberg and Lichterfelde near Berlin attract attention.

3. The church square of St. Nikolai behind the palace is said to be Berlin’s oldest settlement site. Whilst testing whether geomantic phenomena would also manifest in Berlin, it struck me as highly significant that the north-south axis of St. Nikolai’s Church meets Lichtenrade in the south; en route, an old cemetery in Heiner will be considered as an intermediate point. The line has another noteworthy point to the north at Schönhausen Palace. (Distance 7 km, deviation 0.1°.) The fact that the southern cemetery chapel on the Rollberg lies on the line 2 km further on may be a coincidence, which would need to be established by examining the history of the cemetery. Also of note are T.P. 59, 60, 56 and the Dammsmühle. All points have minimal angles of deviation from the north line of the Nilolailirche, as far as can be ascertained from the ‘Map of the Surroundings of Berlin (Topographical Survey)’. — In Lichtenrade, the hill south of the church is more likely to be the location of the Leuchtmais than the church itself; the deviations are very small in both cases (0.05" and 0.25°) at a distance of 14 km from St. Nikolai. In any case, we have a remarkable phenomenon here.
4. But now our attention is drawn to two places. On the eastern side of this very Nilolai-tirche lie Lichtenberg (Cemetery Chapel), Wuhlgarten Church and FrederSdorsl Church

   The cemetery chapel in Lichtenberg stands on the Windmühlenberg, a site which, for some reason, must have been particularly suitable. To the west, it seems to me, a whole series of points of public significance—some of them with interesting names—are touched upon, extending as far as the church at Priort; I must leave the assessment of these to those familiar with Berlin’s history.

   In this regard, I would recommend taking another close look at even the most popular and long-established explanations to see whether they are sufficiently tenable. One should never forget to consider that even in pre-Christian times, people lived in the Mart who spoke, had religious needs and carried out all manner of activities. Should not many names still bear witness to this?

3. The alleged connection between the name L i c h t e r f e l d e and the Belgian town of Lichtervelde (due to Flemish immigration), and between the Belgian name and ‘Leichterschiffe’ (light ships), also requires further investigation. In any case, there is no changing the fact that the main square of Lichterfelde (church) lies on the same north-south axis as the church square of the ancient settlement in Hermsdorf and the old cemetery in Charlottenburg.

The map of the area around Berlin promises a wealth of interesting locational features, with Potsdam, Römerschanze, Babelsberg and a whole host of observation towers not to be overlooked. As far as I can see, the area around Berlin was, even at the time when the surveying began, the setting for a culture closely intertwined with West Germanic culture.

I shall cite a few examples from other regions that I came across when I happened to have the map material to hand.

3. Wilhelmshöhe-Herlules — 14 km — Aw 0.05° Viewpoint Elfbuchen -/- km — Hühnerberg — 3A lrm — Aw 0.05° Weimar Church — North Point.

3. Westerkappeln Church — 2 km — Aw 0.05" Gobelin (Judensriedhos) — 2V? km — Wersen Church — 26!4 — Aw 0.05" south of Sonncnbrint (south-west of Bad Essen). Like the previous one, this is a route of considerable interest.
3. Lichtenscheid (Birten) near Barmen — 5 km — Kiesberg junction — 8 km — Wilhelmshöhe — Weslpunkt.
4. Königshöhe near Elberfeld — 1 km — Kiesberg — 1 km — 1.0° — Nützenberg — 4 km — Old Church, Langenberg (Rhineland) — North Point.
5. Church at Beienberg on the Wupper — 4 km — Azimuth 0.05° Church at Schwelm — North Point, Church at Schwelm — 6 km — Klingelholt Cemetery, Barmen — West Point.

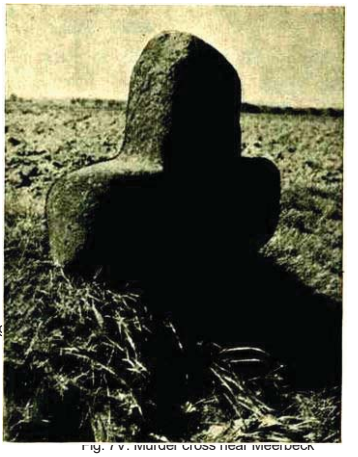
The Wartburg near Eisenach also offers circumstances that are worth investigating.

3. Osnabrück, Cathedral (monument) — 13½ km — Aw 0.05" — Thieplatz Iburg — southern point.

I was undecided as to whether I should regard Jburg or the church of the little town as the reference point, and in the first edition of this book I opted for the church. During a visit to the site, however, to my pleasant surprise, I discovered the wonderfully situated reference point, still known today as ‘Thieplatz’, between the castle and the church! On the hilltop, serving as an impressive link between Tomplah in Osnabrück and Thieplatz in Jburg, lies the Bardcnbnrg. Below Jburg is the “Rennbahn”.

Another detail that is personally dear to me because it concerns my homeland.

3. In the deepest solitude of the Schaumburg



As I was passing by, I noticed a small cross on the Karlo; a few kilometres to the east, on higher ground south of Meerbeck, there is a similar small cross. Here stands

Fig. 7V. Murder cross near Meerbeck

She is in the habit of calling them ‘Mordlrcuze’ or ‘Sühnekreuze’. Local legend has it that a Jew was killed at this spot. But the field adjoining this spot is still called ‘Ticstec’ — Thingstellc — to this day. Then, 10 km west of the Waldtreuz, one finds the name ‘Thoren’ for a group of houses near Tolenhausen on the left bank of the Weser, which we have already encountered as a stop on the Minden cathedral line. The cartographer could just as easily have placed the name Thoren next to the school, but in such cases we must do without a fixed reference point anyway. From the Tiestee Cross eastwards: 1. the

It was erected on the country road to Stadthagen on a patch of meadowland next to a field belonging to the town’s common land (Fig. 69). It was probably moved from the latter—where it had become inconvenient following the conversion of the land into arable fields—to the meadow, where

was not a nuisance, so that its original location — presumably at the junction of the path at T.P. 68.1 — can no longer be precisely determined. Its current location lies about 30 metres south of the eastern boundary of Hünenschloss (highest point), whilst any deviation of the other two sites from this line is, in terms of direction, no longer detectable at all.

The marker in the Schaumburg Forest stood at the 'Hain' wood. In 1830, the Chief Forester von Kaas chose this spot for his grave. A mighty oak, estimated to be 500 years old, is now the landmark of the ancient sanctuary. In its youth, it must surely have seen the Mal-treuz beside it, next to the crumbling sacred oak. An earthen embankment, now interpreted as a 'Hudegrenze', may serve to mark the perimeter of the former site of the Mal-treuz.

In any case, we have such an impressive feature in this line that an explanation by chance is hardly possible. I also show the two murder crosses of this line in the illustration. Who can contribute anything to these crosses—which are rather elaborate even in their present form—regarding what Kuhfahl, op. cit., presents in such a detailed and impressive manner concerning the stone crosses?

Anyone who is convinced that every major settlement of our religiously inclined ancestors had its own local sanctuary, its grove complete with a playground, and its oriented mountain sanctuaries is now invited to take a fresh look around their home region. Above all, the following questions should be asked: 1. Where might our ancestors have held their assembly here? Attention should be paid to the layout of the paths, churchyard, cemetery, chapel; elevation; spring or pond. 2. Do the cardinal points on the horizon or along the line to the horizon provide any clues that there might have been orientation markers there, which would then also confirm the accuracy of the assumption regarding the thing site? If one has to wade through the undergrowth, one should bear in mind the First Edict of Nanzig, which is why we have only a slim chance of rediscovering a tiny percentage of the old sites. But sometimes the convergence of very small clues can reveal what people sought to erase from memory.

3. Let us take the old settlement of Hameln on the Weser as an example. There can be no doubt that St Nicholas' Church, situated at the large crossroads, stands on the Thingplatz of the old settlement. The Bismarckkanzel, situated 2V miles to the west—a spot that appears to have been set apart since ancient times—defines the day and night boundaries of the Hamelin Thingplatz at sunset. At sunrise, this designates the western summit of
'Dütberg', whose name refers to an ancient Voltsberg. The northern point on the Red Mountain is now clearly marked by the small temple, which stands at this very spot for good reason. The traveller stands at the midday point when visiting the Ohrberg, which still serves as a place of public recreation, and steps out of the park to enjoy the magnificent view.

But the old people of Hamelin were devout and practical folk; to mark their summer festival, they wanted to know well in advance when the summer solstice was approaching and would arrive, and so they had, where the 'Heisenküche' forest lodge now stands, and above it on the
'Schweineberge' (junction of footpaths at elevation 258), a fixed landmark visible from the Thingplatz. Could the name Heisenküche perhaps have originated from 'Hexenküche' (witches' kitchen), thus first being demonised and then made socially acceptable again? That the name Schweineberg is said to derive solely from the presence of wild boar, which were once found on all wooded hills, or that it served particularly as pasture for pigs, is less plausible than the notion of the public perception of the sacred boars in Germanic times, which provided a particular cause for contempt.

Conclusion

The studies conducted to date on the question of location represent an initial attempt which, whilst subject to the limitations of its time in many respects—both in terms of its fundamental approach and attempts at explanation, and in terms of the sources consulted—has, I believe, nevertheless established the fact of the location. The findings can be summarised as follows:

1. The assumption of a general tendency towards celestial observation in ancient Germania is based on so numerous conspicuous individual phenomena that, even taking into account the initially unavoidable errors, an explanation based on the accidental occurrence of these phenomena is untenable. The recognition of even a single phenomenon as intentional celestial observation necessitates the recognition of celestial observation as such and of all its prerequisites, which consist primarily in astronomical activity.

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2. Orientation, which is to be regarded as a significant folk custom, consisted in the fact that the things, camps, settlements, etc. established landmarks on the horizon for the important cardinal directions, that these landmarks took on the character of religious sites, and that they themselves were then in turn given orientation markers in the same direction.

8. The very origins of navigation can probably be seen as a means of satisfying a religious sentiment. This was accompanied by the practical need to organise time, particularly from the onset of agriculture; and finally, the existing navigation network came to be used for signalling in times of war and peace, through smoke, light and sound signals.

9. The phenomena of orientation are most easily explained if their origins are assumed to date back to the earliest period of the settlement of the land, when people were still free to arrange their lives as they wished. Here, however, one must avoid the error of assuming that the earliest settlements, camps, etc., were themselves already laid out with a view to a fixed orientation; rather, it is to be assumed that markers were first created for these earliest sites, upon which subsequent settlement then frequently drew.

10. Site selection is common in Germanic lands, and its most important principles have been consistent and unchanging, so that even the passage of time and any shifts in the distribution of peoples have not exerted a noticeable influence. The period of its decline began with the era of Charlemagne.

L. The nature and durability of the monuments varied greatly, depending on whether a monument had come to be regarded as a festive gathering place or as the focal point of a settlement, or not. It could be a simple tree trunk stripped of its branches (üruncus) or an upright stone with a fire pit beside it — right up to a tower or other structure solemnly erected as a pyre.

'I had already read a note about Charlemagne's attempt to exploit the signalling system for his own purposes in connection with the Nieheim watchtower, even before my location studies. I would be grateful if the relevant passage could be pointed out to me, as it has slipped my mind.'

7. Originally, it seems that only the north-south alignment—the most religiously significant and fundamental—was used. To this was added the west-east line, which was obtained by erecting a vertical axis and was of even greater practical value; in the late Germanic period, this line is likely to have been of greater importance and more frequently used in practice, particularly for the celebration of Easter and as the most important calendar line. The number of west-east lines that we can still identify also appears to be greater than that of the north lines. — Due to the strict separation of cults for the various deities, a coexistence of cultic orientation markers can also be assumed where the orientation network features junctions of the two lines.

8. The solstice and equinox lines that appear here and there can, due to the limited scope of their astronomical validity, only have had local significance, in contrast to the north and east lines, which remain astronomically accurate even when extended to their furthest extent.

9. The ancient art of astronomical and geometric measurement across mountains and valleys was highly sophisticated, and would have been inconceivable without formal training. The average measurement error appears to be less than one degree, and the largest errors seem rarely to exceed one degree. The hypothesis of an astronomical school at the Oesterholz estate gains significant new support from the presence of the survey points and the estate's connection to the survey network.

10. In view of the religious disposition of the people and the manifold significance and use of surveyed monuments, including as places of worship, it must be concluded that the whole country was richly endowed with them, right down to small and minute monuments in the fields to fulfil the religious needs of individuals and clans.

11. Given the diversity of the religion and cultic practices of the ancients, however, it must be assumed that only a fraction of the cult sites were situated in specific locations, namely those that either had a direct connection to the worship of the stars, or where there was a practical need for a specific location.

12. In the small field shrines, one can see the precursors to the crosses, wayside shrines and small chapels of the subsequent Christian era. In accordance with a custom of the Christian Church, the latter were erected during the period of conversion precisely on the sites of the former and, provided they have survived in the same location, can serve as signposts for research into orientation. These are joined by numerous other clues, so that research in this direction can be described as promising.

A competition was organised to clarify the question of coincidence, calling for the establishment of lines of equal significance and number according to any positioning system. The deadline for the competition expired on 31 March 1930 without any evidence that any positioning system could compete. The three entries submitted did not even attempt to fulfil the task set, but instead provided further examples of an intended positioning of the ancient sites. See 'Germanien', Volume 2, Issue 2.

This result must not be underestimated. It signifies the failure of the efforts

all those who, with a view to being rewarded for their efforts by winning the prize of 1,000 marks, intended to demonstrate that an archaeologically equivalent sample tablet could be produced using any linear system. Had such a demonstration succeeded, then the example table I proposed would not have needed to be based on the intended astronomical positioning of the ancient sites, but could likewise have been attributed to the spatial relationships of the archaeological sites relative to all other sites, which arise quite naturally. This would, of course, have allowed the inadequacy of the illustrative evidence for my localisation theory to be regarded as conclusively proven,

— had all this been established by a trustworthy arbitration ruling, such as might have been expected from the 'Berlin Society for the History of Natural Science, Medicine and Technology'. But the question of location itself would not have been settled by that either.

The approach outlined above, as proposed by the competition, has so far proved to be the most useful. Any attempt to achieve clarity by purely graphical and mathematical means is doomed to failure from the outset if the decision regarding the archaeological qualities of the sites is not placed in the hands of impartial parties, and if the method does not adhere to the same principles and boundaries as those set out in my illustrative table. Even a doubling of the margin of error must lead to a completely unusable comparative picture.

Nor should the significance of the competition's results be overestimated. It is obvious that, with a boundless investment of time and effort, a large number of similar phenomena can ultimately be brought together on the basis of any arbitrary system of lines. However, the time and effort required cannot be prescribed in paragraphs. It is therefore inevitable that here too, as in so many cases of ancient history not attested in the usual manner, the final decision rests with the individual, who must weigh up the merits and counter-arguments according to his own judgement and intuition.

I hope that the weight of both the examples presented and the underlying reasons of necessity has led the reader to a clear decision in favour of our important locational principle.

16. Germans in Germania

The question of the Germanic settlement of Germania—and, in particular, of the region in which the most important of the Germanic sanctuaries discussed in this work are situated—can serve as an excellent example of how, in the current situation, the clarification of highly significant questions eludes the judgement of a single academic discipline, and that it is now urgent to re-examine certain assumptions which our generation has inherited from and retained from previous generations.

This leads us to the question: Are the customary views regarding the migrations and movements of entire peoples and tribes — not merely population surpluses — on Germanic soil still tenable at all?

In response to my article on the centre for astronomy in Oesterholz, Kossinna commented on the settlement of the area around the source of the Lippe as follows: “I do not feel qualified to speak on astronomical matters. However, if an astronomical observatory really did exist at Haus Gierten, not during the Early Bronze Age but during the Late Bronze Age, then it cannot have been a Germanic institution.”

Now, it would not affect the recognition of the archaeological site if I were to change the wording and speak of ‘the inhabitants of this area at that time’ rather than ‘the Germanic tribes’. But I do not wish to do so; for I have come to the conclusion that the situation was quite different. That this area, namely the Senne region, on the south-western slope of the Osning between Kohlstädt and Örlinghausen was either heavily populated in prehistoric times or served as a favoured burial ground for the neighbouring tribes from far afield, is proven by the astonishing number of megalithic tombs, which, according to an old map (by Tappe), were present in even greater numbers 100 years ago. These are tumuli, as the glaciated area extended from the north only as far as the mountains, and boulders, such as those used for tomb construction in north-western Germany, were available here only rarely and in small sizes.

The latter of the two assumptions — that this was a preferred burial area — is by far the more probable, not only because of the barren sandy soil, which cannot sustain a large population, but also in view of the ancient history of the region, together with the findings of landscape research presented in this treatise, with which the name of the Osning mountain range again corresponds; to my knowledge, this has never been interpreted as anything other than ‘Asenegge’ — ‘Mountains of the Aesir’.

The seemingly almost complete plundering of the burial mounds has made it impossible to draw any conclusions regarding the period of their construction or the tribal affiliation of the settlers. Kossinna therefore draws upon finds from the neighbourhood and from considerable distances of up to 40 km to substantiate his judgement — some 20 — and states that the yield on the Celtic side is far richer than on the Germanic side. Kossinna himself, through his delightful account of ‘Celtomania’, has raised very serious doubts as to whether this peculiar business does not need to be cleared up even more thoroughly than he himself does. This has since been done by Gustav Necke, in Necke, Germanen und Kelten, Winter, Heidelberg 1929.

Anyone who follows his arguments will wonder whether, for the entire period of Germanic settlement in Germania, one can even speak of a handful of Celtic inhabitants on Germanic soil at all!! It is clear “that accurate knowledge of the Germanic peoples in the classical south is just as old as that of the Celts”. Yet the two peoples are frequently confused with one another, so that the Germanic peoples may be meant when the Celts are discussed. Nevertheless, their distinctiveness is beyond doubt, and the separation of their languages must be considerably older than their first recorded mention. Added to this is the insignificance and uncertainty of a few Celtic words (river names) which are believed to be found in Germania. Among those partly to blame for the Celtic misconception is Mommsen. Neckel cannot spare this famous historian the reproach: “Under all circumstances, however, the historian’s bias is obvious.” So, once again, bias, always to the detriment of the Germanic peoples!

This is, of course, absent in the work of Kossinna, who has rendered outstanding services to Germanic studies. Yet he has become deeply entangled in the over-reliance on archaeological finds to identify peoples and trace their movements. When everyday objects appear in the same form in Germanic lands as in Celtic lands, then Jakob Friesen’s words come to the fore: ‘We must never adopt the view that a “new culture” — as the occurrence of different everyday objects is termed in archaeology
— “in a region also implies a new people.”

Kossinna’s view that the inhabitants of Oesterholz in the Early Bronze Age were more likely to have been Celts than Germanic peoples has, moreover, a surprisingly limited archaeological basis. In his line of argument*, we are told that the few heel axes which initially ‘come into question for the Celts’ here behave in an irregular manner, because they ‘have penetrated quite significantly into the southern part of the Germanic section of the province of Hanover’, where there can be no question of Celtic settlement, we must note that the ‘decorated Tönsberg specimen’ is regarded by Krebs as a ‘representative of the Nordic type’, whilst Kossinna sees no compelling reason for this and does not wish to attribute it to the Germanic side; we must note that there is also no consensus regarding a tolch form from the graves at Nodenberg between Kossinna and Schwanold. Given the few objects available as evidence, this is a great deal of uncertainty, to which, however, the well-known serious general reservations must be added.

What if the barter trade, through which everyday goods passed from one community to another, was on a far larger scale than some archaeologists now assume, without being able to provide any evidence to support their claim? Then their entire argument collapses. And on what basis does he form his view regarding the country of manufacture? Unless the items in question are mass-produced, there is a very real risk of confusing imported and exported goods! The trend in current research suggests that there was extremely lively trade between the ancient peoples. The significance of the marks also lies in the exchange of goods between neighbouring peoples, and it is no coincidence

that » Mannusheste, Volume 19, Hest 2, pp. 162 ff.

the places where this trade took place have retained the name ‘market’ to this day.

Furthermore, what if the meagre evidence from such a vast area — many hundreds of square kilometres — which Kossinna estimates, is far surpassed by more recent finds, from which he might have drawn entirely different conclusions? With the increasing number of finds in this previously neglected region, this is not merely possible but a fact, and many recent finds were still entirely unknown to Kossinna. These include, in addition to the results of Schwanold’s years of excavation work, the significant Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age settlement finds by Mr H. Diekmann in Örlinghausen, as well as the discovery of large fields of stone burial mounds by W. Düstersiek near the Ziegenbergwarte (Fig. 73) – up to 100 graves – and in the Leistrup Forest – up to 50 graves, already discovered by Scheppe. The burial site at Kreuzkrug is also worth mentioning. All this implies a significant shift in the basis for archaeological judgement and calls for the utmost caution against any restrictive chronological or ethnological conclusions.

In archaeology, such considerations are always taken into account, and warnings have been issued against drawing conclusions about the settlement of an area by the people to whom the manufacture of artefacts is attributed, simply on the basis of the presence of such artefacts in that area. But the necessary caution has not always been exercised. Jakob Friesen writes: ‘The fundamental question of to what extent a people is identical with a particular culture can only be resolved by the science of ethnology’, i.e. a people cannot be determined solely by veils, brooches, urns and the like.

Rejecting the assumption of non-Germanic settlement in the area of the source of the Lippe on the grounds of insufficient evidence is all the more justified as the region is dotted with Germanic place names, field names and surnames without any foreign admixture, and there is otherwise no reason whatsoever to dispute the continuous settlement by Germanic peoples. Unless we are presented with compelling evidence to the contrary, we are entitled to assume that the inhabitants of a region in Germania were Germanic peoples. I believe this is a sound and correct position. Moreover, we can refer to Tacitus (Germania 2), according to whose understanding of the matter the inhabitants of Germania are natives ‘whose racial purity has in no way suffered from violent incursions or the peaceful admission of foreigners’. But even more important than Tacitus is the simple logic of the matter.

It is both linguistic and well-founded archaeological reasons that — by overestimating the weight of their evidence, combined with a mistaken general view of the conditions under which population movements occur — have produced a confused and alarming overall picture of the settlement patterns of ancient Germania. Confused, bewildering and implausible also because no remotely consistent conclusions have been reached, but rather the views of individual researchers diverge widely. Alarming, because Germania no longer remains the land of the Germanic peoples, as Tacitus describes it to us, but becomes a playground for competing peoples and tribes.

‘Germania’ Vol. 2, Nos. 1 and 2, and his book published by Wittelindtierlag, Bielefeld. – Ibid., p. 138.

It is hardly surprising that those who allow themselves to be carried away in good faith by the whirlwind of these speculations find it very difficult to believe in a continuous cultural development on Germanic soil. The distress of Germania, particularly from the east, has often been great enough, and the entire area east of the Elbe shows severe interruptions in Germanic culture. But even there, so much that is positively Germanic has come to light that the groundwork has been laid for a return to a simpler and therefore more natural view of things, even for our eastern regions.

The Oesterholz case, to which many other more or less similar examples can be added, now draws our attention to the broader question of the migration of peoples on Germanic soil.

It is a generally accepted truth, to which we owe a debt to our archaeology, that agriculture has been practised in Germania at least since the Neolithic period, within the limits dictated by the prevailing conditions. This means that the inhabitants, through their toil and labour, have reclaimed the land necessary for their farming from its primeval state.

After all, it requires a close connection with agriculture – ideally one established from birth – to grasp what it means to transform wasteland into productive farmland and to maintain it as such in the long term. Countless city-dwellers, who thought the matter was so simple, have collapsed under the strain of this work, both in the past and now in the context of post-war settlement efforts. When discussing the migrations and movements of peoples who practised not only hunting and pastoralism but also agriculture, it is clearly essential that the judge be able to distinguish between what is economically and psychologically possible for a farmer and what is economically and psychologically impossible. I have been unable to ascertain who exactly were the very first originators of the prevailing views on the Germanic migrations, and in particular on the so-called Migration Period—views which then, it seems, were passed down from generation to generation to us without question. But these views can only have arisen in the minds of men who either did not believe the Germanic peoples of the Migration Period capable of agriculture, or whose fathers no longer knew or understood an agricultural population, and who had thus lost touch with the farmer.

Their theory of the Migration Period, however, proved in historical scholarship to be entirely excellent for resolving even the most difficult ethnographic questions. It then posed no difficulty in emptying and populating countries, or in directing astonishing migrations to distant destinations. Under the sway of this doctrine, Germania and its neighbouring lands became the scene of peoples and tribes driving one another out, taking their families and belongings with them.

Entire peoples are said to have emigrated, either defeated and driven out by other encroaching peoples, or voluntarily, seized by wanderlust.

, they had vanished from their homes and others had taken their place. At most, there is mention of a remnant of the elderly and infirm remaining behind, only to be absorbed into the new population.

These views may also have been influenced by Strabo's account (VII, 1–3) of the Suebi's nomadic lifestyle, which, however, is completely at odds with Caesar's account (Gallic Wars IV, I) of these very same Suebi. Caesar must have had at least some inkling of the well-organised features of the population surplus, even if he fell entirely into error by assuming that they returned annually.

The conventional theory of migration was linked to the notion of the antagonism and hostility of the Germanic tribes towards one another in general, although the apparent unity of the Germanic people in language, religion, law, customs and other aspects of culture thoroughly contradicted such a notion. Naturally, the tribes had their disputes and conflicts, but the disunity must have been less than that seen in the Middle Ages and into modern times, and also less than the disunity among the Greeks.

It seems to me that, having considered all the circumstances—in particular the psyche of an agrarian people and all other recent ethnographic findings concerning Germania—it is time to formulate the following proposition:

An agrarian people can be completely exterminated by force of arms; but it is more likely to be decimated, subjugated and turned into serfs than to be driven from its land; yet it never voluntarily decides to emigrate unless compelled by the forces of nature (climate change, flooding, etc.).

First as a whole, then during the holidays, I grew up amongst the village youth, and later on I too experienced the joys and sorrows of the farmer, most recently and to this day as the owner of a farm. When the work in the fields—from which my father had to earn the bulk of his parish salary—was pressing, I helped the farmhand with ploughing and harvesting and learnt to appreciate what the farmer's sweat and his bond with the soil mean. Even back then, I took great pleasure in pondering the migrations of the Cimbri and Teutons and assumed—as I still believe, quite rightly—that the ancient Germanic peoples felt much the same way as the German farmer does even today. My current assessment of the matter stems from those thoughts of long ago.

Neither the Cimbri and Teutons, nor the Goths, Vandals, Lombards and all the other tribes that acted as conquerors, would have ventured far into the world as defeated, landless people driven out by fire and sword. Even the mere passage through lands inhabited by other peoples, let alone the act of waging war against Rome's armies, required inner fortitude in the form of strong self-confidence and outer fortitude in the form of all necessary military equipment. Equally necessary were provisions for sustenance, which provided for the long-term feeding of the mass armies, which were, moreover, accompanied by the women and children of the tribe, the elderly, the weak and the sick, and by servants and maids. Since the opportunities for sustenance available en route—hunting, plundering and gathering wild fruits along the strip of land traversed, however broad we may imagine it—were by no means sufficient, provisions had to rely essentially on the herds brought along. But the livestock of a people engaged in even limited! , had to be built up to the level required for a nomadic journey over several years of preparation, with the slaughter of animals factored in from the outset. In other respects too, as regards companions, tents and equipment, one had to adapt completely to the nomadic way of life.

It is impossible to describe all this in detail, and its implications are such that it affects both the economic

and psychological terms, only as a reverse developmental process, and not as the implementation of resolutions or orders. Even the formulation of such resolutions—which would, after all, have to be conceived almost unanimously if they were to have any meaning or consequence—and, all the more so, the issuing of orders intended to compel a farming community to adapt, within a short space of time, to a life as a nomadic people, must be regarded as something entirely impossible.

A farming population has permanent dwellings, stables, barns, and even in the most basic of circumstances, household goods, tools and farming implements – in short, immovable and movable property acquired through diligence, care and hard work, with joy and a love for the task; yet this cannot be taken along on the migration, but must be left behind. They have gardens and fields in which their own and their fathers' sweat has been poured, and to which they have a strong emotional attachment. Even if we were to accept as possible the impossible decision of a tribe to migrate—the final days, the abandonment, the farewell, the actual departure—all this belongs to the realm of utterly untenable notions conceived at a desk.

It would take us too far afield to go into the countless difficulties that are further exacerbated when one considers, for example, the gradual onset of the situation or half-measures, the fact that elderly and frail family members remain at home, or that serfs and servants are left behind, or acts of violence against the peoples living in the way, or a primitive manner of managing the whole enterprise, or a lack of foresight regarding provisions and the destination. Conclusion: The migrations of Germanic tribes, who were already engaged in agriculture, cannot be attributed either to forced rural exodus or to voluntary withdrawal.

There is simply no alternative to this well-founded and reasonable explanation: the warlike sons, who were dispensable and superfluous on their clans' farms and fields along with their wives and children, were, once their numbers had grown sufficiently large within a tribe, equipped as best as possible and sent out on a migration to secure a territory for settlement. Their provisions were carefully planned for the long term through a meticulous supply system, making use of a migration route agreed with the other tribes or the public roads designated for such journeys.

This satisfactory hypothesis simultaneously resolves the archaeological puzzles arising from the complete lack of actual evidence for a migration of tribes, which, given the Migration Period, ought surely to have come to light somewhere and in some form.

The immobility of the farmers appears to be confirmed by the history of all peoples throughout the ages, as soon as we critically assess the accounts and judgements of outsiders in terms of their actual value i n clarifying such events. Historical cases such as the exodus of the Salzburgers, several departures of Greek colonists, the exodus of the Children of Israel, or even the migrations of the destitute under Charles the Great also serve as confirmation, because they possess a distinct character of their own, whereas cases of very large-scale emigration abroad (Transylvania, Russia, America), in which the landowners remain behind with their families and possessions, do not come into consideration at all.

The conclusion therefore remains valid without restriction: The supposed migrations of entire Germanic tribes that had already settled are in reality to be regarded as expeditions of the population surplus, prompted by land conditions and duly equipped by the tribe remaining in its settled home, which moves to new settlement lands and, if necessary, conquers them. Accounts such as

Tacitus provides in Germania 29 regarding the relationship between the Batavi and the Chatti can, if correctly interpreted, serve as confirmation of this.

The history of the Goths and Saxons is of particular interest. The view that the Goths, having been defeated and driven out by the Alans and Huns, crossed the Danube and, in such a wretched state, soon went on to defeat Emperor Valens at Adrianople, is not even adequately supported by Ammianus Marcellinus' account. For he distinguishes these 'other peoples of the Goths' from the Goths of Ermanrich who were defeated by the Alans and Huns; moreover, he speaks only of the

"the greater part of the people", implying that the other part remained in their settlements. Nor did the subjugated Ostgoths of Ermanrich leave their land; research will likely have to revisit the records concerning the Hunnic tribe, its ethnic origins and its cultural character, whereas I believe I have already succeeded in uncovering the mystery surrounding the predecessors of the Goths and Huns, namely the Scythian tribe, and in classifying it among the noble eastern Germanic tribes, as had already been prepared by Wilser's studies. For further reading on the Vandals, see Gustav Frehtag.

As for the Saxons, it is astonishing that the implausible notion has persisted that a small tribe named the Saxons 'displaced' the tribes of north-western Germania all the way to Essen on the Ruhr from the region of Holstein, as I read in an article written just a few years ago. It is even questionable whether a Saxon 'tribe' ever existed, and whether the name was not from the outset a collective term, later becoming the name of the confederation, which explains the disappearance of the old tribal names. The development of the Saxon lands would then have begun as early as Ptolemy's time (early 2nd century AD) and, according to a report by the Anglo-Saxon Bede the Venerable, would have approached completion around 700 AD through the forced incorporation of the Vrukterians. The same course of events is conceivable if there was a Saxon 'tribe' — that is, similar to how Prussia came into being.

The 'displacement' of the Chauci, Cherusci, Angrivarii, Vrukteri, Marsi, Sugambri, northern Chatti and all the small tribes that together inhabited Wittekind's Saxon land took no more place than the Prussians displaced the other Germanic peoples of the Prussian state. -

It is true that, over time, Germanic tribes were overpowered by other peoples and gradually absorbed into the victorious nation; moreover, processes of intermingling of various kinds and for various reasons have occurred. But insofar as such circumstances cannot be historically proven or do not manifest themselves directly, it must be assumed that throughout the whole of Germania all regions remained permanently settled by the same Germanic tribes that had once established themselves there. Schuchhardt hits the nail on the head when he says that Wittekind's Saxons are the unadulterated descendants of the Stone Age people who

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* Germania, Issue 2, Volume 1. – L. Wilser, The Germanic Peoples, Leipzig, Th. Weicher 1920. ° Freytag, Pictures of the German Past.

megalithic tombs. With certain reservations, the same can be said of all Germanic tribes.

This holds true even if their habitats have changed or shifted, even if, as a result of political changes in rule, religious schisms or various trade relations, the culture of the inhabitants has developed in different ways, extending to language, folk customs and the use of everyday objects.

Whilst an indeterminable mass of people has since accumulated in the cities, in the countryside the lineage of the settled peasant population has remained unchanged. It goes without saying that, when considering the present-day population, one must take into account the mixing of peoples brought about by modern transport, freedom of movement and industrialisation.

Anyone who attempts to form a picture of the settlements of the Germanic tribes in those times on the basis of the manifold accounts of Roman and Greek writers finds themselves faced with an insurmountable task. There is absolutely no reason to doubt the good faith and reliability of the writers in these matters, and yet the confusion of their contradictory accounts cannot be overstated. Even if the difficult task of distinguishing between the various periods reported by the writers is carried out with the utmost care, confusion remains.

The confusion becomes immediately clear if we assume that the ancient writers — just like the later historians who followed them — were unable to distinguish the actual tribal seats from the settlements of the emigrated tribal groups. This gave rise, both among them and among later writers, to the misconception of the Germanic peoples as nomads, with the consequent errors in the assessment of their culture. To bring the confusion to a head, there was also the constant confusion of tribal, district and place names, causing the number of supposed Germanic tribes to rise to immeasurable proportions. Detmer-Kassel provides a striking picture of this in a diligent compilation of all the available information, which has not yet been published.

It is likely that the wandering bands only in the rarer cases crossed the borders and played a negligible political role in foreign lands. In the more frequent cases, they found a place within the vast, uninhabited regions of Germania, which also served as borderlands between the tribes. Where they were gladly received as welcome reinforcements, they will generally have been absorbed into the host tribe and disappeared. Where, however, they were numerous, strong and sufficiently cohesive to be able to continue living according to the customs of their home tribe, there they retained their name and became the cause of errors regarding the tribal seats.

To complete our conception of the migratory processes of those times—which I believe to be plausible and useful as a working hypothesis—we must also regard the broad territorial boundaries between the tribes as the established migration routes of these groups. The ancient

roads and sunken paths, which run lengthwise within the territories, are likely to owe their origin not so much to the members of the local tribes, but primarily to the traders traversing the land, and subsequently also to these migratory movements. In this way, the disturbance to the settled population is eliminated and order is brought to our understanding.

The course of events was certainly sometimes different. Tribes whose territories would have remained sufficiently large even after ceding a strip of land to the raiding party were unwilling to tolerate members of another tribe among them; or bloody skirmishes broke out with groups that behaved arrogantly. If, in such instances, the raiding party — perhaps reinforced from home — gained the upper hand, then conditions such as those reported, for example, in Caesar's Bellum Gallicum (IV, 1–19) regarding the Usipetes and Tencteri, who were besieged by the Suebi and who in turn would have pressed upon their north-western neighbours, were still inconceivable. Here our 'impossible' applies.

It is precisely this rather detailed account that offers numerous opportunities to expose both the lack of understanding and the distortions inherent in Roman historiography, as well as the despicable nature of Roman policy towards the Germanic peoples. Such a serious attack on a celebrated Roman classic such as Julius Caesar would provoke indignation amongst our legal scholars, were it not for the fact that in this instance we are able to draw strong support from two passages in Plutarch (Life of Caesar, Chapter 22). From one passage we learn that even in Rome people were appalled by Caesar's breach of contract with the Germanic tribes, so that when a thanksgiving festival was to be granted to Caesar for the destruction of the Usipetes and Tencteri, Cato expressed the view that Caesar must be handed over to the Germanic tribes as atonement for his breach of contract! Caesar's treatment of the Germanic leaders who came to his camp must therefore have been even more shameful than even the most critical eye could have gleaned from the historical account.

It is mere fantasy that, at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, the entire tribes of the Usipetes and Tenkteri—430,000 people—were annihilated, with the exception of the cavalry, which was absent on foraging duties; and the Usipetes' and Tenkteri's so-called 'Suebi terror' must likewise be regarded as mere fantasy. Yet immediately afterwards we find the Usipetes and Tencteri (not just the escaped cavalry) in their old homeland, alongside the Sugambri, in alliance with the very same Suebi by whom they were supposedly driven out! When Caesar had then built his famous bridge across the Rhine, the news that reached him of a general mobilisation of the Suebi was sufficient to prompt him, after a stay of only a few days, to hasten his retreat. "He believed he had done enough for the honour and benefit of the Roman people." Plutarch, however, suggests in the second passage that the campaign against the Sugambri (which was, after all, limited to just 18 days) was merely a pretext; "greedy for glory as he was, he wanted to be the first to cross the Rhine with an army".

If we critically examine the history of Nom's relations with Germania in the light of such highlights as Plutarch provides in these two passages – and which, incidentally, are not entirely absent elsewhere – whilst also paying attention to the many reports on the cultural conditions of Germania, some of which are based on ignorance

and partly fabricated accounts of the cultural conditions in Germania, we shall come a step closer to the truth.

With regard to the migrations, we must recognise that they were, by their very nature, based on sound grounds, undertaken in accordance with peaceful principles that were fully consistent with international law, and were generally carried out with the sincere intention of adhering to these principles. It was only the difficulties that arose in tandem with the growth of the human population, unforeseen foreign circumstances, the mistrust of other peoples, and the encounter with more firmly established state structures that led, in the historical cases known to us, to unintended military entanglements even in those instances where the advance scouts had found sufficient unoccupied land for settlement.

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The fact that the powerful Germanic migratory groups, spreading beyond the borders of Germania to the east, south, west and north-west, came to form the ruling class in their new settlements, supplanting the indigenous inhabitants who remained, is a chapter in itself, which serves in an outstanding manner to confirm our overall view of the Migration Period. Kossinna* says of this:

"From northern Central Europe, starting from the Baltic Sea and then extending further from the upper and middle Danube, the great migrations set out in the 3rd millennium BC, populating the whole of Europe—especially Southern Europe and the Near East—with people who speak our language, the language of the Indo-Germans. Everywhere there, Central European blood became the ruling class and, even as it gradually faded into nothingness or almost nothingness, has left an indelible mark on those lands as an eternal reminder of the world-historical mission of our tribes, or at least of our language."

If our conclusions are recognised as correct, then calm and confidence will return to Germanic research, and we shall no longer be thrown into a state of unease by every dozen pottery shards found by chance, whose existence is in reality due to the diligence of the Lowmis voxaseurs of his firm 1,500 or 2,000 years ago, fearing that his brothers and cousins might haveinhabitants of this region.

At the sources of the Lippe, too, the Germanic descendants of the first Germanic settlers there lived and worked during the Bronze Age and are buried there, quite regardless of whether the Germanic name came into use earlier or only later and reached the ears of the Romans.

* Kossinna, Die deutsche Vorgeschichte, Kobitzsch, Leipzig 1925, p. 232.

16. The Destroyer of Sanctuaries

Charles, King of West Francia, Roman Emperor

^ ^ n our discussion of the Germanic sanctuaries, we have encountered Charlemagne on several occasions. His attitude towards them has thus been sufficiently clarified, but let us summarise it once more. It is reasonable to assume that not a single destructible sanctuary, monument or testimony to the old faith, if it was even recognised as such and fell into his hands, was left intact by Charlemagne. Subsequent eras then reaped the harvest, increasingly with the assistance of the converted and converting people themselves. Not even the last little nun's plaque or suspicious symbol in the most secret hiding place in the bedroom of the nearest blood relative was safe, and would have been handed over to the priests on the promise of divine reward, with or without the owner's consent. Woe betide him if he refused to hand it over. Eternal life and temporal life depended on its surrender.

The death penalty had been imposed on heretics as far back as the reign of Emperor Theodosius (382); Pope Leo the Great approved their execution (Inno. Lniat. 15 all ll'urribium). Then, following the decision of the Loavillum rarraeononae (516), the 'sending courts' were established, so that Charlemagne's capitularies can already be regarded as an outgrowth of the mindset that had come to prevail in the Roman Church, long before Innocent II introduced the systematic tracking down and punishment of heretics under the name 'Inquisition', which subsequently brought disgrace and shame upon the Christian name, particularly in Spain and Germany.

The method of conversion first employed by Charlemagne against the Saxons proved successful across the board. A sudden transformation of beliefs and customs was impossible and could only be achieved over the course of centuries. But whatever was tangible and declared to be pagan was irrevocably doomed to destruction, above all the buildings and written works. Is it any wonder that nothing has survived to us?

The number of folk shrines destroyed on Charlemagne's personal orders must have been immense, given his numerous campaigns across Germania from 772 until a few years before his death. Only if he deemed something 'suitable' was it incorporated, undestroyed, into his own treasury

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i This also applies to two of the four valuable tables made of silver and gold, which were expressly mentioned in Charlemagne's will. The first two tables, bequeathed to St Peter's Church in Rome and to the Bishop of Ravenna, on which the cities of Constance and Rome were depicted, would have been free from offence to the Christian sensibilities of the time and would have had a corresponding provenance. But the third and fourth tables are highly suspect of having originated from the plundered Germanic cult treasures. For we read the following about them in Einhard:

"The third, which significantly surpasses the others in the beauty of its craftsmanship and in weight, and which, forged from three rings, displays a representation of the universe in its intricate design, as well as that golden one, referred to as the fourth, are to serve to augment that third group, which is intended for distribution amongst his heirs and for charitable gifts."

The tables could not have been used for distribution amongst Charlemagne's numerous heirs—who, as we shall hear, were otherwise virtually disinherited—nor for charitable gifts, unless their melting down had been intended. Melting down, despite the highly praised artistic value of one of the tables! Charlemagne himself evidently made an exception regarding the "meticulous and fine" representation of the universe

he made an exception, ^urum et arnentuin abstullt, auock ilü reoerlt. “He took with him the gold and silver found there (at the Jrminsul).”

Apart from this account given in Chapter 3, to the best of my knowledge we cannot glean any further details regarding our question from contemporary writers. The reason for such reticence on the part of the often so verbose Carolingian historians is partly to be found in the fact that one did not wish to keep alive the memory of the nature of a sanctuary, its location and the events surrounding its destruction, owing to the possible undesirable effects on the national psyche. In part, however, the reason probably also lies in the fact that they were ashamed of the brutal measures of force taken against the indigenous folk religion, which were carried out in the name of a gentle Saviour of the world, even though in practice they approved of and promoted Charlemagne’s actions because of the rapid pace of conversion.

To assess Charlemagne’s influence in Germania—and Germany as a whole—accurately is a prerequisite for gaining a meaningful insight into the Germanic past. It is our duty, in the service of truth, to examine his reign and his person from new perspectives that reflect our current understanding.

Charlemagne drew a great line under the Germanic past. Before him, Germania; after him, a Germany gradually coming into being on the basis of shared blood. Before him, free Germanic tribes, united into great confederations according to need and inclination, in keeping with the course of political development; after him, a subjugated people as part of a Roman Empire. Before, a Germanic culture of which all memory has been erased, whose vestiges we must laboriously unearth from small fragments and from graves; afterwards, a culture and national development of a Romanic character, which had to come to terms with the foreign elements imposed upon it and still must do so.

Looking back, it is with Charlemagne that the German people’s lack of a historical past begins. With the era of Charlemagne, a veil has been drawn over the preceding times, one that seems almost impenetrable; behind it we try, by all manner of roundabout means, to catch a glimpse here and there, and then to piece together the glimpses we have caught—naturally, with all manner of errors—into a coherent picture.

Who was this Charlemagne? What place has been, and should be, assigned to him in German history?

It is by no means my intention here to sketch even the briefest of biographical portraits of Charlemagne. But it is desirable to set out a few key points that are necessary for establishing a standpoint from which to answer our questions.

Nevertheless, a rounded account should not be lacking. As for how Karl’s life and work are presented to German youth and the German people in our time, I shall draw upon an excellent ‘History of the Middle Ages for Higher Educational Institutions’*

...if they did not wish to be separated by the three rings; but after his death, the pagan work of art, whose meaning evoked the forbidden worship of the stars, was not to become a danger or a source of offence to the souls. Thus, what would otherwise be inexplicable becomes understandable. > B.G.Tcubner Verlag, Leipzig 1927.

In it, Charlemagne is treated with greater restraint and caution than is customary. I am transcribing the account verbatim and endeavouring not to omit a single sentence or word that might influence the assessment of the historical narrative. At the same time, it serves as a welcome refresher of historical events for many readers. As early as 772, Charlemagne turned against the Saxons, whose raids were threatening the Frankish north-eastern border. It was not until 30 years later that their subjugation was achieved... With the subjugation of the Saxons, the Christianisation of the continental Germanic peoples was complete. At the same time, they were now all brought under Frankish rule... The narrower borders were secured by marches... Military roads were laid from the Rhine up the Ruhr or Lippe to the Weser. Along these lay fortified Frankish royal courts... Franks and loyal Saxons were settled there. In return, remaining Saxons were transferred to Frankish territory, and monasteries and churches were built... The unfamiliar church tithe weighed heavily upon the Saxons. A harsh martial law is enforced to implement these measures. It imposes the death penalty for: damaging a church, disregarding Lent, burning corpses, and failing to baptise. Following the subjugation, Charlemagne has the Saxons' own laws recorded. The provisions for the protection of the Church correspond to Saxon views on offences against religious sanctuaries. The massacre at Verden is to be understood in the context of martial law, a cruel punishment for a planned conspiracy. Following their subjugation, the Saxons adopted Christianity and Frankish culture relatively quickly, albeit initially more superficially. "The Saxons realised that Frankish power was formidable and that Frankish Christianity was, at heart, a benevolent force" (Brandt, German History). — (Regarding the establishment of the empire, after a few introductory sentences, it is stated:) He regarded the imperial crown not as an increase in power, but as a title of honour and a duty before God, from which arose for him and his subjects only obligations to protect the Church, the weak and the oppressed, and to uphold justice... No event has shaped the history of the Middle Ages to such an extent. — (Under Administration and the Administration of Justice, it states:) Since the counts were endowed with fiefs within their administrative districts, the possibility of self-serving administration was evident. The king's envoys were to prevent this. Thus, a constant connection was established between the central authority and local administration. (Under Social Conditions:) 'The bulk of the population is still made up of free peasants! But their numbers are steadily declining. All the more so, the importance of the great men (malorer) is growing... More and more freemen are evading this burden (military service, the tithe to the count) by attaching themselves to a lord of immunity (surrender of freedom)' ... Thus the power of the great lords grew steadily. Yet, whilst Charles lived, the decision on all matters lay solely with the king. (Under 'Agriculture':) The individual farms of the free peasants lie scattered amongst the large estates. This makes the exploitation of the domains more difficult. The royal household is supported exclusively by the ancestral estates of the Carolingian family. (Under 'The Frankish Church':) The Roman rite is observed. (Under 'Education and Art':) Here (in the monastery and cathedral schools) instruction is given in reading, writing, singing and the Latin language... (In Tours and Aachen:) The textbooks are the works of Roman writers But German heroic songs are also collected and transcribed.
(Following a list of some teachers:) All these men are united by an inexhaustible receptiveness to classical learning and a delight in scholarly thought The aim of all Charlemagne's educational endeavours
was to bring the education of antiquity closer to his people. Since this education was imparted through the Church,... Carolingian education also became entirely clerical; it lacked a national foundation. Charlemagne's attempts to,
"His attempt to establish a national literature through the collection of folk songs failed because of the contempt shown by his scholars, who saw in native poetry only peasant and pagan elements, and who, in some cases, were not themselves rooted in the soil." (I shall quote in full what is ultimately said about Charlemagne's character:) "His (Einhard's) account portrays Charlemagne as a true Frank. Frankish were his political talents, his propensity for violence, but also his deceptive energy, his receptiveness to intellectual stimulation and his thirst for learning. As a child of his time, he displayed a distinctly religious piety. On the other hand, his economic and cultural ideas reached far beyond the needs and capabilities of his contemporaries. Yet it remains a wonder how, in his towering personality, the inspirations and demands of his multifaceted empire came together. The union

"The fusion of Germanic strength and Roman-Christian culture was the state ideal. This found symbolic expression in the transfer of Theoderic the Great from Ravenna to Aachen. The legend has rightly immortalised his image."

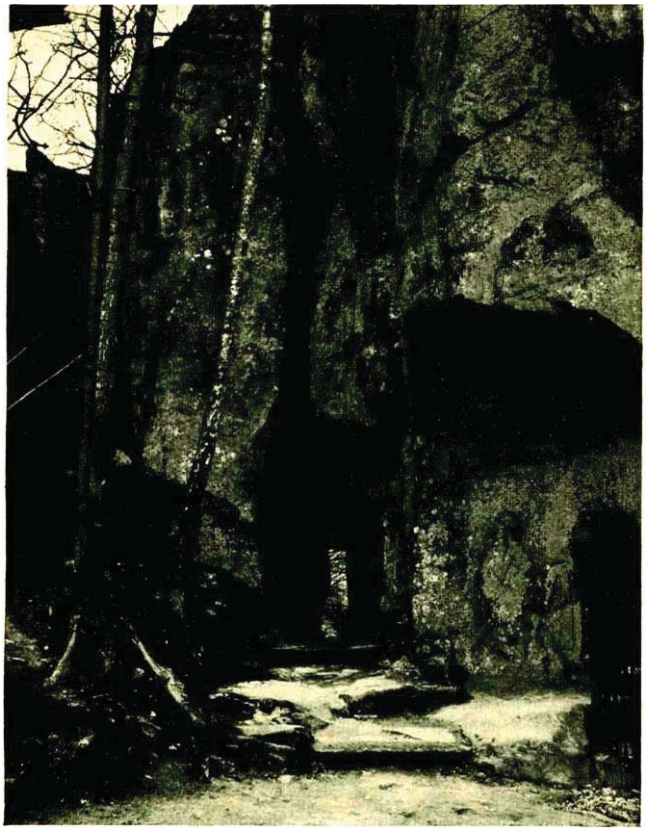

Fig. 77. Destroyed grotto at the Ertcriistcineii

This is a concise and sound presentation of the image of Charlemagne, as we are accustomed to receiving it from German historical scholarship. I have no objections to the individual points, save for a few that contain value judgements. The concluding section is kept rather bland, so as not to anticipate too much the teacher's concluding

— which are, admittedly, still absolutely necessary here for the pupil's understanding; it contains no denial of the previous recognition of Charlemagne as a German national hero; but it does offer a guide for those who wish to make Charlemagne into such a figure.

I have no intention of criticising the account given by the author, who is a friend of mine and who, after all, was merely required to reproduce the picture under consideration. However, I intend to examine the picture itself, to supplement it with key details, and to offer a different interpretation and a different assessment of it, both from the perspective of historical truth and from the German point of view.

A ruler must be judged, in terms of his significance for his people, by his deeds and their influence on the development of the people. There have been noble figures among rulers of whom only good is reported in moral terms, yet whose reign must nevertheless be regarded as a calamity for the people. And, on the other hand, morally inferior figures have, through their correct and timely actions, become national heroes to whom their people owe a debt of perpetual gratitude. This must be noted. But then, in order to understand a ruler's actions, his personal character must be taken into account.

We wish to form an honest view of Charlemagne. This is a difficult task, given that the sources are, without exception, suspected of being biased in his favour. Even in the period that followed, right up to the present day, we encounter a striking leniency of judgement regarding Charlemagne and his deeds – a leniency that is otherwise not, or at least not always, practised. It is as though one—consciously or unconsciously—wished to preserve for him, as the meritorious bringer of Christianity, as the bringer of a higher culture, as the founder of an orderly German state, a place among the German national heroes that was not too marred by dark shadows. This considerate glossing over of the downside has become a veiling of historical truth and, in its effect, a poison for the inner strength of the German people.

In order to recognise the true value of Charlemagne's reign, the moral yardstick must also be applied to him and his deeds, and all the more so because his work, directed towards the introduction of Christianity and Christian morality, constitutes a major part—indeed, a part of his life's work that is quite exceptionally large for a political figure. In doing so, he must be judged in the light of and according to the standards of the Christian views of his time.

The Saxons

Everything in the world is relative and can only be assessed through comparison. Against the dark backdrop of a wild, predatory, uncivilised Saxon people, the figure of their Christianiser appears more favourable, along with the corrupt form of Christianity he brought and the atrocities committed to introduce it. That is why the reputation into which the Saxons were cast at that time must first be examined before we turn to Charlemagne.

The sources from that period, not a single one of which is written from the Saxon perspective

or from a neutral perspective, have long been exhausted, yet are known in detail by only a few; and then it depends on how they are read. The above account in the textbook contains no judgement of the Saxon people. Hauck's great history of the Church, which deals most extensively and subtly with the innermost causes of the events, is universally and unconditionally regarded as a suitable foundation be recognised upon our examination. Hauck states in Volume I, p. 372:

'The Frankish (meaning the West Frankish) people change their faith so readily... The Saxons, on the other hand, staked their very existence on resisting the new religion that was being forced upon them... their tenacious resistance is only comprehensible if one assumes that the national religion possessed far greater strength and vitality among them than among the Franks.' This is consistent with the fact that the vigour of their religiosity struck Frankish observers such as Egil and Rudolf of Fulda. If the latter's accounts provide a true picture, the people's religious concern was directed above all towards undertaking nothing contrary to the will of the gods ... There is something magnificent in the fact that they inevitably refrained from any undertaking to which the gods denied their blessing ... This kind of religiosity corresponds to what we know about the moral conditions of the tribe. Once again, it is a Frankish testimony that praises the moral integrity of the Saxons."

Hauck now cites the expression 'eastitate nüianäl' from Salvian, meaning 'to be admired for the sake of their moral purity'; from Nudolfi's translation of Alexander I, Book II, p. 675: Lrant . . . ckowi paoati st vivlum utilitatidus plaeiäL bsnisnitats conLulentea; o. 2: leLsibus stiam aä vinckietam Malelactorum ootimis utebantur. Lt raulta utilis. atqus sseunäum lossra naturas bonssta. in morurn probitnto kabsre stuäerunt. In English: "They (the Saxons) were at home peaceful and, in benevolent friendliness, concerned for the common good; c. 2: They also applied excellent laws to punish wrongdoers. To this end, they strove earnestly to acquire much that was useful and, according to natural understanding, beautiful, and they did so in an honest manner."

We are grateful to Rudolf of Fulda for daring, in contrast to the customary disparagement of the conditions of the pagan Saxon people and theiras 'the wild Saxons', to openly express his opinion of this oppressed people and his experiences amongst them, and to bear such testimony to their noble and excellent manners and such a keen sense of culture—a testimony we could scarcely imagine to be more brilliant. In doing so, we must accept that Rudolf describes the Saxons as inguivtl and lnkostl (restless and dangerous) in their relations with neighbouring regions. For as to who originally instigated the border disputes, at least with the western neighbours—whether the Westphalian Saxons or the Merovingian and Carolingian Franks—we shall have no doubt about this after studying the political aspirations of that time.

At that time, the Saxons' migrations were not directed westwards, where the established Merovingian Empire stood in the way of any colonisation plans, but still towards the British Isles. To the west, the Saxons were rather intent on peaceful trade relations with the major trade fair centre of the time in St. Denis.

This, then, is Hauck as an honest historian who conceals nothing relevant. But then comes Hauck as the one who acknowledges the Christianisation of the Saxons...

' Schaumann, History of the Saxon People, Dieterichs, Göttingen 1839.

A Christian who knows better, who becomes a defender of the Christianiser, because he cannot comprehend and does not wish to believe that the Christian emperor would trample upon a people of such high moral, religious and cultural standing—as they appear even in the accounts of their enemies—with such brutal cruelty, subjugate them and force them into his Christianity. Hauck struggles for an explanation, for a justification, for an excuse for Charlemagne's deeds. He takes the path of arbitrary denigration. He becomes unjust and ends up rebranding loyalty as disloyalty. Listen!

"If it is true that the Saxons knew of no images of the gods, one must not expect to find in them an expression of the spiritual essence of the deity: it is the feeling of the unapproachable awesomeness of the gods that bound the hand which was to create an image of them."

Here we have an endeavour, founded on nothing but prejudice, to strip a highly esteemed and essential aspect of Saxon religion of its value. Where would Hauck end up if he were to apply the same method of doubting value and authenticity to the highest tenets of other religions, including Christianity? If anywhere, it is in the religious sphere that one ought to see and respect the spiritual core even through any superficial trappings that may exist (the veneration of saints, relics and images among Christians — the worship of Wodan, Donar and Freya among the Germanic peoples), rather than extracting the highest core of truth from the recognised and emphasised tenets of faith, especially when the actual observance of a doctrine is attested to a people even by their enemies. Hauck goes on to say:

"What was sanctified by popular custom was observed. But there was a lack of morally well-formed characters, just as they are entirely absent among the barbarians (sic!): The culture that shapes individualities is the prerequisite for moral character ... And did the wars with the Franks not show that Saxon treachery was at least a match for the notorious, frenzied treachery of the Franks?"

These final words are either an incomprehensible lapse or an example of partisan bias on the part of the highly esteemed church historian. If a people no longer wishes to recognise the signatures of its representatives on cruelly enforced, enslaving and dishonourable treaties, if it — as the Saxons did — in a heroic resolution, sacrifices the hostages (with their consent) to execution in order to regain its most sacred possessions and stakes everything on it, is that treachery? Will it be treachery if the German people no longer recognise the decisions of the National Assembly and the signatures of Müller and Erzberger, as representatives of the Nevolutionary government that was already finished in 1919, and the Versailles Dictate becomes null and void? Treachery against whom?

Acts which, from a moral standpoint, must be judged quite differently—for which one need only cite the name of Wilhelm Teil as an example—are vindicated by world history, before the Christian conscience and before the conscience of humanity. What Hauck here calls disloyalty is, in fact, the highest form of loyalty: loyalty to the heritage of the fathers, loyalty to one's own national character, loyalty to the deity.

And now, as for the fabricated lack of moral character among the Saxons, who have been branded as barbarians! Not even a shred of evidence can be produced for this assertion. Who can summon the spirits of those silenced in Verden and elsewhere? If anyone, in stark contrast,

that there was a profusion of moral characters among the Saxon people at that time, indeed that the whole people must have been heavily imbued with them, there are far more compelling factual grounds for this view than can be discerned in Hauck's general phrase.

Or was Hauck thinking of Wittekind and Abbio? But the prevailing view is that of their voluntary conversion. In Hauck's view, that surely does not constitute disloyalty. It would, of course, have been better and nobler for their people had they carried out their conversion in private; for they must have known that their example was significant not only for religion but also for the freedom of their people. The aforementioned view may be correct. However, there is another view alongside it, which draws on the curious obscurity of all further reports concerning Wittekind after he had allowed himself to be lured voluntarily into Charlemagne's power. There is a suspicion that he was eliminated in Attigni, regardless of whether he had already been baptised or whether he refused baptism until the very end. Hauck sidesteps the whole question of Wittekind with the brief statement: 'There is no reliable information regarding Wittekind's fate.'

Hauck's judgement, and that of all historians, is also flawed by a complete disregard for the principles and facts of heredity. We, however, wish to recall here that the actual leadership of Christianity, at the time of conversion, immediately fell into the hands of men of Germanic blood, who surpassed the Romans in scholarly work; the author of the Heliand and Ottfried, among others, were even of Saxon stock. It is genetically impossible that the sons of such fathers and forefathers could have lived through the rolling centuries in the intellectual dullness of barbarism. Quite the contrary: the immediate emergence of these men is proof that the intellectual development of the Germanic people had also followed the path of scholarly endeavours. Leaders and luminaries of science never spring up overnight from primitive peoples.

No one can object to our assertion—that the Saxon people conquered by Charlemagne must have been not only a warlike and morally upright people, but also one that was scientifically and culturally active—by claiming, with the appearance of justification, that more evidence of this should have survived. But if we know that the culture of this people was utterly eradicated during a 32-year war and the period that followed, then clinging to this objection must be regarded as an injustice, as a historical insensitivity.

How do Salvian and Rudolf of Fulda describe the Saxons? Admirable for their moral purity! Peaceful and concerned for the common good in their districts; guardians of order with excellent laws! Diligent, taking joy in their own work! Endowed with a keen sense of what is useful and beautiful! All these are foundations and proofs of character-building. To this may be added religious earnestness and faithfulness!

Boniface-Wynfried, on the other hand, coined the phrase 'the wild Saxons'. Armed with Merovingian and Carolingian weapons, his ecclesiastical agenda—and his contemptuous judgement of the Saxons—was brought to victory and has remained dominant to this day. No wonder Boniface was on the

: out of fear of them, he moved the first monastery in Hersfeld further back from the Saxon border to Fulda.

Throughout the Germanic world, complete tolerance in matters of faith prevailed as a self-evident principle. Even at the time of the Downfall of Midgard, the northern Germanic peoples were utterly astonished that, in matters of faith, one person should seek to impose his opinion on another by force, whereas until then every member of the tribe had freely chosen the form in which he worshipped the gods!

wanted to serve the state. People then came to see the imposition of religious belief merely as a political

! and allowed themselves to be baptised when the overpowering political opponent demanded it. In his history of the Lower Saxon people, Schaumann expresses surprise that it seems to be a characteristic of 'barbaric' peoples to allow everyone their own ! religious opinion.

For the Saxons, too, the imposition of faith was at first something alien, something quite incomprehensible. A peculiar observation can still be made among the rural people of Lower Saxony today

has led me to suspect that the whole concept of 'G land e' did not exist at all before, but only came into being at that time, specifically as a result of 'submission to compulsion' – 'vow' – among them. If a father still beats his son today, he repeatedly shouts at him: 'Wutt du glöben?', i.e. 'Will you obey me now?' The boys do the same amongst themselves. Does this curious connection between the meanings of 'to believe' and 'to vow' not stem from the era of conversion, when faith was supposed to be born of vowing? Linguistically, it is certainly possible; for both derive from the same root. This would then explain why the concept of faith as trust (Lückes) simply refuses to take root among the Low Saxon people, despite all efforts, and why, after 100 years of education, they can only be brought as far as faith as 'believing to be true', just as the word is generally used in everyday German speech. . But 'I believe in' still means 'I vow obedience'.

The ancient Saxons would not have taken any hostile action against the peaceful work of the Irish and Scottish envoys. But when the agents of Wynfried's intolerance arrived in the land, reviled their gods, laid hands on their sanctuaries, and told them that the high priest, to whom they must all bow, resided in Nom, their patience came to an end. That is why, from then on, they had to be called the 'wild Saxons'. When Charlemagne, in alliance with this faction, sought to deprive them of their freedom, it was, as Einhard says, no people who offered the conqueror such powerful and tenacious resistance as the Saxons.

Our sympathies lie with the oppressed. But we must be careful not to be unjust towards the oppressor, a disciple of the crude customs and views that had come to prevail in the Church of that time. If the picture turns out to be a sombre one, then recognising and depicting it means, for me, the loss of the hero whom, despite my reservations, I had regarded as a German Emperor who had rendered great service to our people. With every stroke, I wondered whether the brush might not be dipping too deeply into the dark paint. But I cannot go against recognised truth; nor can I go against my conviction that error has no claim to leniency, especially when its cultivation has had, and continues to have, disastrous effects on the German soul.

Karl is also regarded, by virtue of his ancestry, as a member of the Merovingian clan. To what extent he can still be counted as a Frankish German, that is, to what extent his beautifully and fully documented family tree—which is rightly doubted—corresponds to the truth, we do not know. Neckel (Altgermanische Kultur, 1925) even doubts whether the Carolingians were of noble peasant stock, wondering whether they might not in fact trace their origins to a freedman from the servile class, and sees a sign of this in the fact that Charlemagne became such a strikingly docile pupil of his Roman teachers. “Then one might also see in his abominable blood judgement—which, by a process of negative selection, targeted the noblest of Nordic blood—against the 1,500 Saxon nobles whom he had beheaded in a single day at Verden in the year 782, an expression of servile malice towards those superior to him in origin. Medieval ecclesiastical historiography has, after all, failed to make Charlemagne ‘the Great’ appear to us as a true nobleman.”

In any case, in his very nature, Charlemagne bears the mark not of a Frank, but of a West Frank. From around 250 AD, that is, for half a millennium, the wave of migration that the Germanic Franks once set in motion across the Rhine into Gaul had become estranged from the Germanic way; having—as has been and remains the fate of almost all who leave Germanic soil — mingled with the local population, had thrown themselves unreservedly into the arms of Roman culture, and had become the true progenitors of today’s French. There is no objective, historical obstacle to applying the name ‘French’ to Charlemagne’s West Franks, since in later times no wave of foreign peoples swept across France proper to such an extent that such a designation could be deemed incorrect. In character, Charlemagne resembles the Merovingians in many respects; whilst the adoption of Christianity by the West Franks is indeed linked to their name, their conduct—which mocked Christianity—and their untamed brutality are said to be without parallel in world history. It suffices to highlight a few episodes from his life in the following to demonstrate the truth of this statement, whilst at the same time illustrating his relationship with the German people.

What our school textbook describes in relation to Karl as a ‘propensity for violence’ is the ruthless subordination – often accompanied by cruelty – of the interests of others, whether close to him or far removed, to his personal interests and his desire for power, without any restraint in the choice of means. This may be natural to great rulers; after all, the bringer of the religion of Jesus Christ should surely have considered some restraint to be appropriate. In a broader sense, let us grant rulers a special position with regard to property and wealth. We are even willing to entrust to them, in difficult legal matters concerning ‘mine’ and ‘yours’, the higher judgement and the final decision from the perspective of the common good — yet in the character portrait of Charlemagne, what stands out is

a complete disregard for all concepts of justice, law and the Christian commandments regarding what is mine and what is yours, and not even always in favour of his own power base, let alone the public good, but in favour of his personal possessions, splendour and glory.

As regards land ownership, estates and all manner of land and property, I must recommend to anyone wishing to be well-informed that they study Nübel's frequently cited monograph on the distribution of estates from this perspective. In Nübel's work, one detects neither interest nor understanding of the Germanic past. He is coolly objective, very much of the old school, and can therefore truly be regarded as uncontroversial, even if he occasionally expresses his astonishment at the brutal events and their subsequent neglect. It is understandable that, for example, in Fulda, people were deeply offended by Nübel's revelations and sought to prove that his work was unscientific; but the bare facts and the most obvious explanation of events always speak in his favour, though this explanation cannot, of course, take Boniface into account.

Karl seized the vast expanse of unclaimed lands and wastelands—which the Germanic tribes had, after careful consideration, left lying between them as common land for all manner of perfectly reasonable purposes—as 'causa, resis' and placed them at his own unrestricted disposal. From this, he first took for himself personally whatever he wanted and could somehow manage to acquire as personal property, then for his West Frankish compatriots, whom he needed as vassals to maintain his rule in Germania, then to a great extent for the churches, and finally — this was a downright satanic means in his hands — to buy off the leaders of the plundered people who submitted to him, for the purpose of separating them from the people. This latter occurred not only in Saxony, but in Thuringia and Bavaria and wherever he saw fit.

But Charles was not content merely to seize all the Marches and whatever else was called the 'land of the people' which he had declared to be ownerless (solltucko, conllnium, ckeaer-tuiii, vrrstum, eromub) and with the confiscated property of all those who did not show themselves compliant towards him, or whom he otherwise drove from their homes and farms, either individually or village by village, for whatever reason
— he crowned his despotic rule and the oppression of a people stripped of their rights by the fact that, even without providing a reason, he first forcibly turned all the land he wished to possess or give away into a solituäo, a ckesertum or the like by expelling the inhabitants, only to then declare it causa, romn (royal property)!

Due to the excessive accumulation of land holdings by the nobility of West Frankish and German descent, an era began at that time which lasted several centuries, during which veritable orgies of donations were celebrated, mainly to the churches through bequests in the event of death, but also to relatives and anyone else, orgies of donations, the deeds of which make up a large percentage of all the records we have from those dark centuries. We shall return to the effects of Charlemagne's policy on German land.

-- Nübel, The Franks, Their System of Conquest and Settlement in the German Heartland, Leipzig, 1904. ° Fulda Historical Papers 1909 No. 5.

That Charlemagne was not concerned with the welfare of the Frankish state, let alone the Saxon people, is made even clearer by the simple sense of justice evident in the accumulation and eventual realisation of his immense movable assets in gold, silver and precious stones.

Charles spent years before his death dealing with these treasures, yet even then he had not finished organising and distributing them. Einhard writes: ‘He resolved to draw up a will by which he intended to appoint his daughters and illegitimate children as his heirs, each to receive a certain share; but he began too late and was unable to bring the matter to a conclusion. However, three years (811) before his death, he carried out a division of his treasures, his cash, as well as his clothing and other personal effects, in the presence of his friends and servants, and solemnly asked them that, after his passing, the distribution he had made should remain in force on the basis of their testimony.”

In order to ensure the enforcement of his testamentary dispositions regarding his movable assets, the Emperor summoned 11 bishops, 4 abbots and 15 counts—listed by name by Einhard—to Aachen, so that they might hear his decrees and guarantee their implementation — provisions “which the glorious and most pious ruler, the exalted Emperor Charlemagne, has made in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 811, in the 43rd year of his reign in the Frankish Kingdom, the 36th in Italy, and the 11th year of his imperial reign, the 4th Indiction; so decreed after pious and wise consideration and by God’s will concerning his treasures and his money, which was in his treasury on this day.” And now the decrees themselves. They afford a profound and true insight into Charlemagne’s nature, disposition and life’s goals — just as, indeed, people’s wills can often serve to reveal their true nature.

First, the contents of the treasury were divided into three parts; two of these parts were subdivided into 21 further portions, whilst the third was left intact. The 21 portions were intended for 21 mother churches: 11 in France, 5 in Italy, 3 on the left bank of the Rhine, one for Salzburg and one for Vienna. In contrast, the very regions from which these immense treasures of gold, silver and precious stones originated – above all Thuringia, Saxony and Hungary – came away empty-handed. They had been plundered, yet in his will Charles made no provision for their churches.

The following passage in particular must be read with close attention: ‘The Archbishop, who is currently the head of that church, shall receive the share due to his church and share it with his suffragans in such a way that one third remains with his church, but two thirds are distributed among the suffragans!’ I confess that this sentence has had a strong influence on my assessment of the final motives in Karl’s life.

For it is abundantly clear from this provision that Charles was not primarily concerned with the Church as such and its continued existence, but that fear and anxiety for his own personal salvation led him to put the clergy in office at the time of his death in the very best of spirits by the prospect of personal enrichment, so that they might be willing to say a great many Masses for the repose of his soul. For this reason, the suffragans of the bishops were not forgotten either.

In order to spur this ecclesiastical host even further on to this task, which was of the utmost importance to it, 1. the inheritance bequeathed to the Church and the clergy was, even during Charlemagne's lifetime, set aside for any other use in the presence of the bishops, so that they might not succumb to the fear of being the ones deceived upon his death; for the willingness to celebrate Mass had to be present immediately upon hearing of the death, even before the inheritance could fall into the hands of the bishops and their suffragans; 2. the prospects of these men were further improved by the fact that, in the event of death, they were also to receive a further 14 from the third major portion of the treasure that had not been restricted.

O f the treasure's nest, which thus amounted to only 16—of the total, a further '/r-' was 'set aside in accordance with the custom among Christians for the care of the poor', whilst the thought of its usefulness for one's own salvation will also have played a part — the second twelfth was to be distributed as alms to support the servants employed in the palace, and only the final twelfth was intended to be divided 'fairly and justly' amongst his sons and daughters (including the heir to the throne), grandsons and granddaughters.

The result was that almost nothing remained for the crown treasury of his son Ludwig, who succeeded him to the throne. The only interest that the state as such, or the people, could have had in Charles's wealth—given their ruler's desired obligations to represent them—was completely sidelined! Admittedly, it was then Ludwig's first act of negation that he set the will aside and took two-thirds for himself and his two biological sisters. They were immediately forced to retire to a convent.

It is highly disconcerting, and can only serve to heighten our mistrust of the previous assessment of Charles as a ruler, as a Christian, as a German and as a human being, that the lessons to be drawn from such an important act as a will have been disregarded.

A crown jewel is a matter of secondary importance. But the fact that Charles, in all other important matters too, did not consider the stability and welfare of his empire, but thought solely of his own personal glory and his personal rule, is evident from the desolate, chaotic state in which Charles left his empire at the very moment he closed his eyes. Like a house of cards, Charles's life's work collapsed outwardly, and as far as Germany and Italy were concerned, inwardly too, so that even German historiography, which acts as Charles's eulogist, cannot quite suppress its astonishment here and there at such an outcome of the great Charles's 46-year-long negation.

Ludwig the Pious's role as a Christianiser and Romaniser, following in his father's footsteps and as an obedient son of the Roman Church, is not to be discussed here. But this much should be said: it was by no means merely Louis's incompetence — he did at times know how to intervene vigorously and with relative reason — that made his 27-year reign one of the darkest periods in German history. Rather, it was the devastated culture and the ominous, hopelessly confused state into which Charlemagne had plunged the German

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- Nidhard's 4 books, Hist. I, 2.

had ruled the people into a state where only a brutal tyrant of the same ilk as Charles could have maintained a semblance of order. One must ask: has there ever been a ruler who so irresponsibly consigned his empire and his people to chaos as Charles did? Is there any glimmer of light at all that shone out to us from the dark era brought about by Charles, which had now become a thing of history? People speak of the terrible state of Germany brought about by the Thirty Years' War. Far more disastrous was the state of affairs following the 32 years of devastation in the region stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Main, from the Rhine to the Elbe and the Thuringian Forest. We are also told repeatedly of the devastation of Thuringia and Bavaria. Neither Louis the Pious nor his successors managed, during the 147 years of West Frankish foreign rule, to establish conditions that were even remotely tolerable, so that the last representative of that dynasty saw no other way out than to recommend a local, Henry I of Saxony, for the imperial election.

So far, we have spoken only of Charlemagne's manipulation of property relations for his own personal gain. Whilst this is certainly a regrettable development, it was, after all, merely a minor chapter in the overall calamity through which Charlemagne continually undermined the most basic living conditions of the Germanic people. The worst aspect was the abolition of the Germanic allodial system, which went hand in hand with the distribution of fiefs, and its replacement by the West Frankish-Roman feudal system. This introduced the principle that every piece of land must be the property of an individual or a legal entity, and the closely associated introduction of Roman law.

Until then, the opposite principle had applied in Germania: that the land belonged to the people as a whole and would remain so in perpetuity. The land—at least the arable land—was entrusted to individuals, both leaders and other freemen, for cultivation and use, whilst the community retained the rights of ownership and disposal.

"No one has a specific, demarcated amount of arable land or his own fields" (Caesar, De Gallia 22). "Land intended for agriculture is divided up taking into account the rank and dignity of the individual" (Tacitus, Germania 26).

What Tacitus goes on to write about the annual rotation of fields among the Jn-habers is, admittedly, a misunderstanding linked to the annual crop rotation. However, the accounts of the two Roman writers are otherwise corroborated by the situation as described by von Nübel at the time of the Carolingian distribution of estates: in Germania, there were no demarcated property boundaries anywhere.

That was the allodial system. Given human imperfection, it will certainly have had its downsides. But no one can even remotely provide evidence that there was any reasonable justification for its abolition in the interests of the Germanic people. The reason lay solely in the interests of Charlemagne and his foreign rule. We must, however, assume that it was a form of relationship between a free people and their homeland that was appropriate to the Germanic people, perhaps even the ideal form, and that its

abolition became one of the worst causes of the subsequent misery in the Middle Ages and right up to the present day.

When Charlemagne came to power, the allodial system was already in place. It was there, with all its implications for practical legal life and for the social relationships between people. It served as the foundation for moral concepts of property. We must try to imagine what it meant that, in the few decades of the reign of Charlemagne and his immediate successors, this legal, social and moral foundation was shattered and, in its place, a foreign law was imposed upon the people, thereby creating a distinction and contrast between the lords and the rest of the populace. In the first generation, the effect may not have been so abruptly noticeable, because, after all, everyone who

- were confirmed in their previous claims and were probably delighted that they could now consider themselves owners. But by the very next generation, the plight of all those deprived of their rights had become clear. The peasant and Lithuanian uprising flared up, but any prospect of a serious victory for the betrayed people was now out of the question; the uprising was effortlessly crushed with the assistance of the Saxon lords. To use a — naturally imperfect — analogy: it was as if, in our own day, all public offices, but chiefly those with the highest salaries, were declared to be the hereditary property of their current holders. This, too, would not be felt to its full extent immediately, but only in subsequent generations as a terrible calamity.

One of the most dreadful consequences of the new conditions introduced by Charlemagne was also serfdom. 'Admittedly, the conscript was initially a free man. After the conscription system had to give way to mercenary service, servitude and serfdom came upon our people. From the 'vaetis' arose serfdom as a right of the lord.'*

Is it any wonder that this people, religiously uprooted and subjected to violence from all sides, with the shameful example of their ruler, the new rulers and even their own lords before their eyes, experienced the complete moral collapse that characterised the conditions of the Middle Ages? Is it any wonder that the Saxon people's virtue of superior moral purity—which even West Frankish writers were forced to acknowledge—was swiftly eroded as a result of Charlemagne's property measures and the rest of his example? That all moral bonds were severed? The blame for the decline of the free peasantry, the growing dominance of the lords and the territorial fragmentation of Germany rests with Charlemagne! He was the father of the law of the jungle, which several centuries later came to define life in German lands!

That Charles, through his policy as Roman Emperor—which his ecclesiastical measures, gave a foreign power the opportunity to interfere in German affairs and to deprive the German people of their autonomy, and that he initiated the disastrous Italian mania of his successors on the imperial throne, which from then on weighed heavily upon the German people, is most clearly expressed in the historical record. I therefore need not go into this chapter in greater detail. But one misses the frank expression of the conclusions drawn from the

> Führer, Meier's Constitution, Lemgo 1807. – Hauck, History I, 372.

One must consider Charlemagne's overall position as Roman Emperor. Whilst this idea is hinted at almost everywhere, it ought to be stated clearly and plainly, in accordance with the truth: Charlemagne did not wish to be a German ruler at all. As Roman Emperor, he wished to rule over a unified people who would fit as seamlessly as possible within the framework of the Roman Empire, submit to his rule, and be Romanised. That is why a major theme of his entire cultural policy within our fatherland was precisely the Romanisation of Germania, in the sense that his Western Frankish people were already Romanised.

It is from this perspective that all his governmental actions, without exception, must be understood; and only when we apply the standards derived from him unreservedly—that is, by breaking away from the views instilled in us—does the historical picture of the first Carolingian come into full clarity. Otherwise, it remains a distorted image devoid of any logical consistency.

Only then does meaning emerge in the structure and spirit of the schools founded in accordance with Charlemagne's aims at his court and in a few other places. Their teachers were united 'by an inexhaustible receptiveness to classical learning'. They were, without exception, those who 'found in native poetry only a rustic and pagan character'. Why is no conclusion drawn from the acknowledgement of this fact?

Only then do we recognise the fallacy of the view that Charlemagne, through his 'collection of songs and legends', was about to perform a national act in the sense of preserving them. This is, after all, Charlemagne's 'lat'—which was never even carried out—intended to provide the proof, indeed virtually the only proof, of Charlemagne's Germanic sensibility!

With such a view—one might almost call it naïve—Charlemagne is credited with a completely out-of-character inconsistency that is simply unbelievable. Logically, his intentions can only have been to render harmless the songs and legends in which his clear-sightedness had rightly recognised a pillar of Germanic national consciousness and of resistance against him. He may initially have expected this neutralisation to come from the reworking of the legends and songs, from their Christianisation. But since the material defied even the skilful hands of his Alcuin and comrades, nothing more was heard of this memorable collection. All that remains is the suspicion that the collection met its end in silence on the pyres which his son, Louis the Pious, subsequently set alight publicly and by decree, without the slightest hesitation. From that point on, all those who had by then learnt to regard the destruction of everything sacred as a work pleasing to God vied with one another to help the collection initiated by Charlemagne achieve the resounding success we see before us.

But that is not all. We must also assume that the singers of these songs were silenced and that their scribes were put on trial for life or death; we must assume that the entire literate class of the Germanic intelligentsia—the priests and other leaders of the Saxon people—were eliminated as early as Charlemagne's time, insofar as they did not become complete supporters of Charlemagne; there is no reason to doubt that in Alemannia,

, Bavaria and Thuringia the same process took place, albeit less brutally and abruptly, but just as thoroughly as in Saxony.

As stipulated by the infamous Paderborn Capitularies (785), all those who still dared to perform the sacred rites of the old faith—and these were primarily the literate—were to be handed over by the people. As punishment for disobedience, the villages faced expulsion from their homes and farms, and deportation to distant lands. 'No measure,' Abel judges, 'has had such an effect as this.' Then the resistance collapsed. The poets, singers and scribes of the songs and legends were outlaws. The king's envoys dragged them from their homes and no one dared to stand by them. These were the 'delivered up'. But even before the Capitularies, from 777 onwards, the Paderborn decree had been in force, stipulating that all who did not submit should forfeit their freedom and their homeland. It had entailed extradition, if it was not to be rendered ineffective. In Verden, where Charlemagne must have had his base on the sea side, the rebels were gathered.

Now no mouth spoke any more, and no pen moved to write songs and tales of the old kind, save in hidden corners/ The monopoly on song, poetry and historiography, indeed on the art of writing and all scholarship, now lay for several centuries with the monasteries, with the monks and priests, in whose view at that time the Christianisation of the people was no less dependent on their Normanisation than in that of Charlemagne and his successors. They regarded Normanisation as synonymous with Christianisation. The resistance of a few isolated German monks could not alter the course of events.

With Nom's view—which so perfectly aligned with Charlemagne's intentions—that the true sacred language, the one best suited to serving God, was Latin, the gradual relegation of the German language to the tongue of the uneducated began as early as Charlemagne's reign and continued throughout the Middle Ages. Charlemagne himself endeavoured to pray in Latin. The salvation of the German language from its demise can only be regarded as assured in the 16th century, when it resounded from the German pulpits. Then, despite the sceptical faces and the opposition in Rome, even that part of the German people who had been held in dependence on the supposedly indispensable head in Rome by the Counter-Reformation hesitantly followed suit. And with the salvation of the German language, the complete victory of the Romanisation of Germany was prevented. But we must never forget that for centuries we were the very objects of Romanisation—initially conscious, later unconscious, and even zealously promoted by the humanists themselves.

What could be wrought upon the sensibilities and minds of quintessentially German men is expressed in Schiller's 1789 academic address at Jena. He describes the primordial state of human culture: 'His crude taste seeks joy in numbness, beauty in distortion, glory in exaggeration; evenet his virtue fills us with horror — and what he calls his bliss can only arouse in us disgust or pity. — Such were we. Caesar and Tacitus found us not much better 1800 years ago." "As savage barbarians," adds Jakob-

Friesen adds to this remark, “as antiquity portrayed them, or as crude heathens, as the monastic Middle Ages depicted them, the Germanic peoples of the time around Christ’s birth appeared to us (and indeed this is how they were still presented to us in schools at the beginning of this century)/ had it not been for the science of archaeology, which brought to light the truly astonishing cultural achievements of these peoples and thereby overturned the old views of the primitive culture of prehistoric peoples.”

'The wheel of world history cannot be turned back. We must accept that a very significant part of our Germanic heritage has been lost for good in the most diverse areas of our national life, as a result of this process of Normanisation which Charlemagne set in motion with such determination and ruthlessness.' Much of it may well have been worthy of destruction. But the realisation that one of the great tasks for the future of our people lies in recognising and appreciating the valuable things that have been taken from us, and in eliminating the foreign elements through which disharmony has been introduced into the German character, is an insight that the new approach to the Germanic past should and will bring us.

Any assessment of Karl and his writings from a moral and German perspective would be incomplete if I did not also turn the pages of his life, for the sake of which, in my view, even more than what has already been said, the bond between him personally and the German people should be severed once and for all. It is the lack of honourable German sentiment, as it
— at least in principle — lives in the German soul, that Karl has demonstrated time and again against everyone, not merely in isolated outbursts of anger, but throughout his 43-year reign of negation, whenever he deemed a dishonourable act to be to his advantage; against everyone, but in particular against women and against the Germanic people as such.

As for his wives and mistresses—of whom his eulogist Einhard, without comment, names no fewer than nine—I shall touch upon this shameful chapter, in which, among other things, brothel-like conditions within his immediate family circle play a part, with just this one sentence. We are, after all, more interested in his conduct in public affairs.

World history offers us, in every age and among all peoples, shameful examples of broken promises and dishonourable atrocities committed for the sake of destroying the enemy, which are then excused on the grounds of the harsh necessities of war, if an excuse is deemed necessary at all. But the extent to which Charles consistently deemed it compatible with his position as a Christianiser and a Christian who tirelessly attended church services to deceive those who trusted his word and to inflict inhuman cruelty upon the political opponents who thus fell into his hands is rarely matched. It evokes a comparison with the deeds of Cortez in Mexico — and indeed it is entirely justified to place the destruction of people and culture with which Charles trampled the Saxon people on the same level as the rampage of the Spanish conqueror. Here as there, the defenceless people fell into

A state of paralysis and passive acceptance of whatever came their way, with the sole difference that the Mexicans were finished for all time by the slaughter of their entire ruling class, whilst the more resilient Saxon people, after 147 years of West Frankish rule, were already ready to allow a life of their own to take root under a ruler from their own tribe.

The only, though certainly the most terrible, of Charlemagne's countless atrocities that has been preserved to some extent in the consciousness of the German people, in spite of the cover-up system of his contemporary historians, is the so-called Massacre of Verden. But here too, the full truth has been withheld. We must protest against the euphemistic manner in which the events at Verden are presented to our people, a manner that does not do justice to the historical facts.

The church historian Hauck writes: 'The surrender of more than four thousand rebels by the Saxon nobles, without any prior struggle, can only be understood if one sees in it an attempt by the Frankish faction among the Saxons to permanently shift the balance of power. They wanted to destroy the resistance party in one fell swoop. Charlemagne went along with this idea: at Verden on the Aller, he had all those handed over to him put to death in a single day. No act of Charlemagne's is so universally condemned as this one. Who would defend it? It is horrific. The fact that the Saxons had now betrayed the king's trust four times, breaking promises and oaths, aroused in him a violent hatred that crushed his opponents. The demonic aspect of Charlemagne's nature is terribly evident here. Whoever stood in his way was engaging in a fight to the death; the Saxons were defeated, so they were to die as they had killed the king's loyal followers. That the blood of thousands flowed in the process might have moved the weak; Charlemagne was impervious to such sentiment."

In other historical accounts, the bloodshed is explained away by invoking the laws of war, with reference to prisoners of war, and the whole affair is portrayed as a harsh punishment for the uprising or a planned uprising. If only that were the case! Since most historians use this excuse to gloss over the terrible event with sparse, all too sparse words, thereby betraying their embarrassment, we have all the more reason to pause and examine the circumstances.

Einhard's fundamental account (^.nn. laur. mas. 8 81 261), whose laconic brevity is all the more striking given the verbosity with which entirely trivial matters are treated, reads: All the Saxons, having gathered together again (at Verden), submitted to the king's authority and handed over all those evildoers who had most instigated this rebellion, so that they might be put to death, of their own free will.

In English: All the Saxons, having gathered together once more, submitted to the king's authority and handed over all those evildoers who had contributed most to this rebellion, so that they might be put to death, four thousand five hundred in number.

The military situation was as follows: one of Charlemagne's armies had invaded Saxony, which had been believed to be already subdued but had once again risen in rebellion; it had met with no resistance and had advanced as far as the Elbe, whilst another army was pushing into the Süntel region. This army was there defeated by the Saxons

, and its leaders were killed. Charlemagne rushed to the scene immediately, but again met no resistance. He proceeded to Verden, where the massacre took place a few weeks later.

It follows from this that Einhard's account of the events at Verden is a lie. The victors of the Battle of Süntel could neither have become Charles's prisoners of war, nor did they allow themselves to be handed over to Charles by their fellow tribesmen immediately after their victory. It would be even more absurd to believe that it was other Saxons, not involved in the Battle of Süntel, who—numbering 1,500—were hastily rounded up from all over the country by their differently minded tribesmen 'so that they might be killed'. The whole notion of expulsion in this manner and in this context—which, unfortunately, Hauck also embraces in his unwarranted confidence in the veracity of the sources and in his reluctance to attribute such an outrageous atrocity to a Christianiser, must be regarded as a fabrication by the men around Karl, whereby the blame for the bloodbath was, moreover, to be laid upon the shoulders of the Saxons themselves!

No, the 4,500 who were slaughtered must, for the most part, have been civilian prisoners who had been rounded up since the disenfranchisement in Paderborn of all representatives and adherents of the old faith, and who had gradually been gathered together in the permanent prison camp at Verden. It was on them that Charlemagne quenched his thirst for revenge for his defeat at Süntel, but the act also reflected the hatred towards the entire people struggling for their freedom, as explicitly conveyed to us by Einhard. The report on the year 775 states: 'During his winter stay in Carisiakus, the king resolved to wage war against the treacherous and covenant-breaking people of the Saxons and not to rest until they were defeated and converted to Christianity, or utterly exterminated'.

One of our historians rightly remarks on this: 'And thus began one of the most abhorrent chapters in European history: the destruction, the attempted extermination of one of the finest Germanic peoples by partly Romanised tribesmen in the service of the Pope. The army which we see setting out from Düren in 735 was accompanied by a host of priests.' It remains an unatoned guilt to this day on the part of the Christian churches of both denominations that they did not unequivocally and with the utmost severity draw a line between themselves and Charlemagne.

By executing the 4,500, Charlemagne silenced the most significant part of the country's intelligentsia forever in one fell swoop. Some of them may have been the 'clonveniöntes' (members of the peace party), who had come in reliance on Charlemagne's promises to conclude a tolerable peace with him.

We have no reason to doubt what Tacitus reports regarding the Germans' sense of honour and good faith, and all the less so as this very chivalrous, good-natured, and at times somewhat overly innocent disposition—which the Romans so admired—shines through most clearly in the speeches of Germanic leaders, which Caesar, in particular, has evidently recorded for us with the utmost care. Ever since the time when the Cimbri and Teutons came into contact with the Romans, Germanic trust has been so often shamefully betrayed, * A. v. Hofmann, Political History of the Germans I, 312, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart 1921.

that we cannot be surprised if those who had been duped gradually learnt to repay in kind. Yet in countless instances, German history demonstrates a relapse into unfounded credulity right up to the most recent modern times. Such a natural disposition cannot be eradicated.

Even in the face of a man like Charlemagne, this inherent disposition could only lead to the downfall of the Germanic peoples. Charlemagne already held the upper hand through the unified organisation of his empire and his strict personal leadership, as well as through his trained, standing armies, whilst he was opposed only by tribal confederations and hastily assembled militias. Added to this was the Italians' cunning and broken promises, all inextricably intertwined with an equally overwhelming assault on the already shaken religious foundations of the Saxon people's inner resilience.

As far as the religious aspect is concerned, our consideration relates in its entirety solely to the Saxons, since the Bavarians and Thuringians—and, of course, all the more so the tribes of the south-west and west—had long since been in the midst of a difficult religious transition. They stood perplexed and helpless before a situation in which their political enemy was at the same time the most intimately connected friend of their ecclesiastical head, so intimately connected that Charlemagne's measures could no longer be distinguished from ecclesiastical measures at all and in every respect coincided with or supported one another. We must seek to comprehend the agonising, hopeless moral dilemmas that must have tormented the souls of the Thuringian and Bavarian leaders, who still felt themselves to be Germanic at heart. These unfortunate men will have found their only bleak solution in a maxim that found some support in their old faith. The phrase goes something like this: 'Whoever prevails in battle, or indeed, whoever can commit a religious sacrilege without immediate punishment, has the stronger God on his side, to whom one must submit.' The close connection between this phrase and the ancient custom of divine judgement is evident. But the custom was carefully guarded by moral preconditions, restrictions and solemn rites. The fact that this religious war against a foreign enemy had created an entirely new situation, and that there was an arbitrary distortion of the old concept of trial by combat, was, on the one hand, obscured and, on the other, ultimately dismissed as a practically ineffective objection in a spirit of resigned acceptance. What good would it have done to demand an arbitration tribunal to establish fair conditions of combat or the like? The nonsense that even the most celebrated missionaries of the time engaged in with the 'stronger God', and the deception employed through fabricated miracle stories in favour of the new faith, was, alas, the shameful manner in which Christianity of that era
"inner" entrance. The true virtues of true Christianity were completely overshadowed by it.

The terrible fate of Saxony had finally, around the year 786, opened the eyes of the Thuringian nobles and their leader Hordrat to what their own land might also face. They prepared themselves for resistance. By the contemporary

, this is naturally described as a conspiracy against Charlemagne, in order to excuse in advance the dishonourable crimes committed against them. First, they were—as Abel writes in the work cited above—lulled into a false sense of security; then came the blows directed solely against the leaders personally, just as Charlemagne had achieved victory in Saxony by leaving the people leaderless.

Charlemagne sought to compel Hordrat to marry off his daughter in accordance with Frankish law, which Hordrat refused to do. Charlemagne now had grounds to intervene; he sent troops into the 'rebellious' regions and ordered them to lay waste to the land. The leaders, who were not yet prepared for resistance but were already Christians, sought refuge with Bishop Baogolf in Fulda. At his intercession, Charlemagne granted them a meeting, the outcome of which was that the Thuringians were to take an oath of allegiance in Aquitaine (!) in a particularly solemn manner over the relics of the saints. They did so and placed themselves trustingly in Charlemagne's hands. But even on the return journey, some were blinded, whilst others received their sentence at the Diet of Worms, which also had to deal with the punishment of other rebels. What a vast amount of dishonourable behaviour towards the Thuringians is contained in these few lines! One must imagine the course of events in detail.

Now it was Bavaria's turn, a land that was even more Christianised than Thuringia. Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, was evidently a ruler who had embraced Christianity with earnest devotion. He is portrayed by many, including Hauck, as an indecisive, incompetent ruler. This is unfair, but his mistake was that he had viewed the Saxons as a pagan people and Charlemagne as a Christian king until it was too late, until his dealings with Charlemagne had entangled him in an inescapable web. Once the bishoprics of Salzburg and Würzburg had been filled in the Frankish-Roman tradition, his people—threatened with excommunication—abandoned him when he sought to take up arms to defend Bavaria's freedom. He submitted, swore an oath of allegiance, and accepted Charlemagne's invitation to Ingelheim, which guaranteed him safe conduct and security.

In Ingelheim, Charlemagne's breach of trust once again triumphed over the confidence of the Germanic princes. Tassilo was arrested and stripped of his weapons. At the same time, Charlemagne sent an embassy to Bavaria to secure the Duke's wife and children (!), his treasure (!) and his retinue (!) and bring them to him. Only then did the 'inquiry' against him begin — a judicial farce of which we could scarcely imagine a more repugnant version! It ended, as was to be expected, with the unanimous sentencing of the Duke to death. But Charles's hypocrisy could not be absent from the proceedings. Perhaps in a fit of shame, he sought to shift the blame for his deed onto the assembly. From this point on, I shall quote verbatim from the account of Abel, this calm chronicler who was by no means biased against Charles:

"Moved by compassion, the annals say, and because Tassilo was his blood relative, he persuaded the assembly not to carry out the death sentence; the intention was evidently to present the sentence merely as the decision of the imperial assembly and to allow Charlemagne to intervene only to mitigate the harsh law through his mercy. It is said that he asked Tassilo what he wished, whereupon the latter requested permission to have his hair cut and to enter a monastery to do penance for his many sins and save his soul; and this request was granted. — An annalist of Lorsch Abbey recounts the events in greater detail. Tassilo was to be taken immediately to

He was to be tonsured on the spot, but he implored the king that it should not take place in the palace at Ingelheim itself, for fear of the disgrace and shame before the Franks. Charles granted this request too; he sent him to St. Goar and had the tonsure performed on him there on 6 July. However, he was not permitted to remain permanently here in the heart of the empire, but was banished to the monastery of Gcmodium (Junicyres on the Seine) below Rouen, which he later exchanged for Lorsch. The king, however, was not content merely to have rid himself of Tassilo; he deemed it necessary to neutralise his relatives and followers as well. Tassilo's sons Theodo and Theotbert were also tonsured as monks; Theodo was sent to the monastery of St. Maximin in Trier, and Theotbert undoubtedly to another, though this is not specified anywhere. The Duke's wife, Liutberga, also took the veil, though it is not known which monastery Charlemagne assigned her to; and the daughters, whose names, incidentally, are not mentioned, shared their parents' fate. Yet they too were not allowed to remain together." —

It will be unnecessary to go into detail regarding all these acts of Roman oppression and atrocities directed against the Germanic peoples as such. The remaining Germanic tribes, including our Germanic Franks, have no less reason than the Saxon Confederates to regard Charlemagne as a foreign ruler, a corrupter and a calamitous disruptor of their development. In comparison with his deeds, the Napoleonic era must appear exceedingly harmless.

We have had to sketch a portrait of Charles here because it was necessary for an understanding of his life's work, in particular his rule over Germany, his effectiveness and influence in Germany, and his significance for Germany.

What we had encountered up to that point were exclusively gloomy traits in all the areas of his activity relevant to us, wherever we looked. All the more carefully, then, do we wish to look around once more for sympathetic traits, noble deeds and pleasing effects of his rule, in order to do full justice. The historians of that era, Einhard, Notker and others, will surely have forgotten little of the sort, so that nothing can escape our notice. I shall, as far as possible, quote in their own words what they still consider praiseworthy.

Charles detested drunkenness in others and in himself. Yet when it came to food, he was unable to practise the same self-restraint and often complained of how harmful fasting was to his body. He practised the Christian faith with the utmost piety, attending church tirelessly, including the night services, as far as his health permitted. He took great care to ensure that everything was conducted with the utmost solemnity. He built and endowed churches. Out of a deep-seated need, he devoted himself to supporting the poor and to that selfless generosity for which the Greeks have the word 'alms', both at home and especially abroad. Above all, however, he endowed St Peter's Basilica in Rome with a wealth of valuables in gold, silver and precious stones. The bishops there received many and countless gifts; for throughout his entire reign, he considered nothing more desirable than that the city of Rome should, through his efforts and his activity, enjoy its former prestige.

That was Einhard. If we expect something more from Notker, who was expressly commissioned by his emperor, Charles the Fat, to produce such a text, we are, of course, bound to be disappointed. This monk from St Gallen (who, incidentally,

made a name for himself in the field of music) reveals an appalling narrowness of mind in the monastic atmosphere of his time — 100 years after Charlemagne. Notker makes a particular effort to recount deeds of royal magnanimity, but what he presents serves more to diminish than to exalt Charlemagne. This may also have been due to the perspective of the 10th century, but mainly, no doubt, to the fact that he knew of nothing better to report. There is nothing good in the little treatise that was worth reproducing, and we have heard enough of the depressing aspects.

Apart from his moderation in drinking, his sense of propriety in church, and his charitable deeds – including towards the needy in his own country – the earliest writings reveal nothing of Charles's commendable deeds or character traits. We gain more by sifting through the later and even contemporary historians. This also has greater relevance today. We shall refer to the extract from the book for secondary schools quoted above.

We also come across the account that Charlemagne had the Saxons' own laws recognised. It is utterly baffling how it is possible that this is occasionally interpreted by well-meaning people as an act born of understanding and goodwill towards Germanic customs. It took place in the year 782, at the very moment when Charlemagne, by transferring unrestricted power of negation to his counts, circumvented the old Saxon constitution! It was done to investigate the severe penalties which the Germanic peoples had prescribed for the desecration of the sacred objects born of their own folk traditions, and to apply them to violations of the imposed foreign order of things. The Saxons were to be taunted: 'Behold, you are judged according to your own customs!' Incidentally, a few years later, without the slightest regard for existing conditions, West Frankish law was introduced — naturally, insofar as previous legal relationships were not even more favourable to the new rule. This, and nothing else, is the meaning of the passage from our history book: 'The provisions for the protection of the Church correspond to Saxon views on offences against religious sanctuaries.'

If (according to Brandt, *German History*) 'Frankish Christianity' is described there as a fundamentally benevolent force, and thus Charlemagne is presented as the bringer of a benevolent power, it can be countered with compelling arguments that it would have been infinitely better for the German people had they been brought not West Frankish Christianity, but Christianity in a less corrupt and politically entangled form.

The further praise of Charlemagne, that he regarded the 'imperial crown not as an increase in power, but as a title of honour and an obligation to God, from which arose for him and his subjects only duties to protect the Church, the weak and the oppressed, and to uphold justice', must, for psychological reasons and in the interests of the overall picture of Charlemagne, be rejected as implausible. Charlemagne's deeds suggest the opposite.

Charlemagne's receptiveness to intellectual stimulation and his thirst for learning should be noted with recognition and approval. But it was not the 'union of Germanic strength and Roman-Christian culture' that was his political ideal, but a Western

> Notker, The Stammerer, History of Charlemagne, Insel Library No. 114, Leipzig.

Franco-Roman unified people with Roman-Christian education, following the neutralisation of Germanic power and the Germanic character.

For me, as I have already said, the realisation of Charlemagne's significance for Christianity, humanity and German identity marks the painful collapse of an ideal that I had held fast to throughout my life—albeit with a sense of inner unease. But for the longest time I clung to the familiar view that, by uniting the German tribes into a single state, Charlemagne had performed a meritorious deed from a German perspective, and that we had him to thank for securing the borders against the Slavs. Surely something good must have come of the negation of this undoubtedly mighty emperor, who spent most of his time on German soil, for our people! But to the same extent that the great Germanic confederations of the Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, Alemanni and Lombards—emerged from the shadows as viable, culture-bearing political entities, whose coexistence was less detrimental to the development of Germanic culture than the political and religious conditions created by Charlemagne—to the same extent must this too have diminished as a glorious chapter in Charlemagne's history.

As for the defence against the Slavs, however, I have found myself virtually a victim
I felt I had been misled by history until my own study of the sources led me to the following passages in Einhard's Annals for the year 804 and their supplementation by the Lorsch Annals: "In the summer, however, he (Charlemagne, 804) marched with an army to Saxony and led all the Saxons who lived beyond the Elbe and in Wichmodi (the area around Bremen!), with wives and children, into Franconia and gave their districts to the Obotrites." That was a Slavic tribe! From an appended manuscript of the Lorsch Annals we learn, ibid., that Trasiko was appointed king over this Slavic people, that the displaced persons "with God's assistance and by wise counsel were led out of Saxony by various routes and distributed throughout Gaul and other parts of the empire, so that the military detachments sent through the various regions suffered not the slightest losses." (Under Louis the Frank, and perhaps also later, a return migration of the displaced people took place.)

This was an act committed by Charles a year after the so-called Peace of Salza, when the oppressed people now believed they had found peace. To prevent the full extent of the misery from becoming fully apparent to the rest of the population and giving rise to renewed desperate resistance, the deportation of the exiled population took place in separate convoys and along different routes. Thus, this atrocity, which had been committed so often and so successfully before, could be perpetrated upon a people who silently endured it. After 32 years of fighting, there were scarcely any men left who, in their anger at the sight of these convoys of misery, could have taken up arms. What concerns us most at this point is the fact that Charlemagne did not secure Germany's borders against the Slavs, but rather, on the contrary, surrendered a vast expanse of German soil to the Slavs. One might object that Charlemagne and his entourage simply lacked an understanding of such national considerations—

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i Historians of German Antiquity, Berlin, F. Dunter 1850, 9th century, vol. I, p. 99, edited by Pertz, I. Grimm, Lachmann, Ranke and Ritter.

was missing. That is correct. But that is precisely what I sought to prove: that Charlemagne was not a unifier, promoter and protector of the German spirit and of a German state, but a corrupter and harbinger of disaster in every respect.

Karl's two great works have become a lasting legacy for the German people from his reign: the subjugation to the Pope with all its consequences and the introduction of the feudal system with all its consequences.

As for the formation of legends, the legend has essentially embellished the image of Charles only on West Frankish soil, and in a manner that appeals little to the German sensibility. Not only in the lands of the former Saxon Confederation, but throughout Germany, the attitude towards him has always been frosty and learned, and has remained so to this day; it is highly significant that the canonisation of Charlemagne met with the strongest aversion in Germany; consequently, its observance by the Church has become mandatory only in Belgium and France.

If historians and schools allow the facts set out here to speak for themselves, then the people and the young will naturally form their own view of Charlemagne as King of the West Franks and Roman Emperor. This does not even require an announced change of stance.

In his poetic account of the events at Verden, Hermann Löns depicted the situation as it existed at the time through the eyes of the people of Lower Saxony. Fate stares at us with horror, revealing the external and internal torment of the Saxon people, who lay at the feet of an inhuman and merciless conqueror—a so-called Christianiser. Whilst, in the complete absence of even a single historical account written by a Saxon-friendly or neutral hand, we have hitherto been largely reliant on our emotional assent to the same view of events, this situation has now been overcome. Every new ray of light that falls upon Germanic culture prior to Charlemagne brings further justification for this sentiment. But every ray of light must first be won in the struggle against the result achieved in our national soul by 1,100 years of Romanising education.

All my Catholic friends, with their warm, compassionate hearts, know that I do not wish here to attack Catholic thought in its religious and ideal sense—even if, as a Protestant, it has taken on a different form for me—but solely its inherent burden, which has historically manifested itself in countless instances, along with side effects that have had a politically anti-German impact. There is
not a single one among them who did not fundamentally condemn such consequences. Nor is there likely to be a single priest with a sense of German identity for whom the considerations surrounding this issue have not become a moral dilemma, in which the voice of blood conflicts with religious obedience.

The new understanding of the Germanic past, which also compels a reassessment of the deeds of Emperor Charlemagne, is also making its mark on German Catholics. It is not merely a matter of the unshakeable tenacity with which the Church, more so than many other intellectual forces, has resisted change. There is also within it a willingness to understand and adapt, as is evident in the field of natural science. Historical insights must not be denied the power to ultimately enforce their necessary conclusions within the Catholic Church, even if the path and pace cannot be foreseen. This is what the history of the Catholic Church teaches.

When faced with uncomfortable new truths, one is quick to resort to the accusation of unscientificness if one believes oneself to be standing on ground secured by the authority of prevailing opinion. Now, however, the weapon of this accusation is slipping more and more from the hands of the defenders of Germanic barbarism in all relevant fields of knowledge, owing to the wealth of material hitherto entirely overlooked, and is turning against them.

I welcome here the whole host of those who have embarked on the path towards the liberation of the German spirit. Their growing numbers are a welcome sign that the fundamental importance of our prehistoric knowledge for the entire struggle for freedom is no longer being overlooked.

This work, in its entirety, is intended as a contribution to the renewal of the German people, for which, I believe, the following preliminary stages must be passed through:

Joyful recognition of a lofty and distinctive Germanic culture, drawn from the manifold findings of archaeological research.

An angry realisation of the crime committed against the German people 1,150 years ago and the efforts at ‘Normanisation’ that continue to this day, accompanied by historical misrepresentation and the dishonouring of the German essence.

A growing striving to eliminate everything alien to the German essence and to recover that part of the lost heritage which is still valuable and useful for our time.

16. Objectivity and Germanic Culture

is, according to Eisler, ‘conformity, freedom from subjective (indi- “individual) moods, tendencies, views, perspectives, opinions”. Anyone reading this will recognise the fundamental futility of the sentence.

But one must ask whether there is any human being at all who is truly objective in this sense. Even without having reached a decision in favour of one side or the other in the doctrinal dispute between philosophical realists and idealists, we must give Schopenhauer our full assent, for he says: “The whole world of objects is and remains a representation, and precisely for that reason, and for all eternity, is conditioned by the subject.”

No one is objective. Even in science, there is only a striving for the inner freedom required to recognise things, with very varying degrees of success. That is why the objectivity which people believe they have attained takes on remarkably diverse forms. It may well degenerate into a kind of delusion (idiosyncrasy) on a single point, whilst believing itself to be particularly objective in that very instance.

i Eisler, Philosophical Dictionary—illustrated book.

The Nordic peoples are generally more inclined towards objectivity, practicality and diligence than other peoples. Germans, in particular, are best able to recognise and deal with things according to their innermost nature, rather than as they appear, or as one might wish them to be. ‘To be German means to pursue a cause for its own sake,’ said N. Wagner. Thus the German has become the world’s teacher, as was evident, for example, in his outstanding literature and in the influx of students from all nations to German universities, until the World War initially disrupted relations between nations. Whether he is the most skilful at utilising what he has conceived is another matter. And his talent for sound judgement and appropriate conduct has absolutely no bearing on the souls of other people, whether of his own nation or of other nations. This has rightly earned him the reputation of being an apolitical people. A sense of independence that neglects self-discipline, when unchecked, then completes the picture in this regard.

It is curious that the development of German political thought has moved in the opposite direction to that of the Anglo-Saxon mind. In the very nature of the true Englishman, a compulsion of feeling and thought has taken hold, which is described by the untranslatable word ‘Laut’. Cant is based on the confusion and equating of God’s world order with the welfare of the English nation; “God for my country” is not merely a saying, but is deeply rooted in the structure of English thought. Here, English objectivity finds its ethnically and subjectively determined limit.

With the German, it is the reverse. He tends to lose himself in a vacuum where the concept of a God-given fatherland no longer exists. In order to attain a scientific standpoint, his objectivity seeks the greatest possible distance from the interests of his own people, loses his footing and overreaches himself. There is a lack of a sound sense of the limits of reality, where objectivity turns into the sickness of intellectual pedantry.

When judging matters, there are crossroads where the signposts of verifiable facts and clear-cut moral or scientific principles come to an end. When a German who insists on scientific objectivity reaches such a crossroads, he chooses to turn his back on his national identity, for fear of otherwise not being objective enough.

. This is one of the main causes of our national misery, extending as far as a lack of patriotism and treason. Of course, we are not speaking here of cases where dishonourable motives, such as the pursuit of personal gain, come into play, or where personal bitterness or party interests have stifled patriotic reason. But the pretence of supposed scientific objectivity is no less dangerous to the survival of our people; indeed, it is even more dangerous, because this malady presents itself to a people who readily bow to science as ‘the’ more scientific position. Schiller’s words apply to it: ‘The greater such dependence, says a law of the soul, the less one is aware of it.’

We must, however, first look to the ancient predisposition towards objectivity as the main reason for the development of this German mindset in terms of national psychology. M. Scheier, *Der Genius des Krieges*, Verlag der Weißen Bücher, Leipzig 1915, p. 352.

at first, but then, in its pathological final form, through a thousand years of Romanising education of the German people within a Roman Empire of the German Nation, which ultimately served to sever the German soul from the roots of its Germanic essence. Initially, under Charlemagne, King of the West Franks, the guiding principle of this education was undoubtedly a conscious one, as is always the case in such instances. It was then soon continued, more or less unconsciously, by the Church and humanism, and functioned of its own accord.

The ‘nomonisation’—promoted without a clue by almost everyone, including the most German of leaders and influential figures—was on the verge of robbing our people of their language as well, and thus achieving complete victory. Latin had already become the language of the church, the language of the authorities, the language of poets, and was beginning to rise to the status of the language of the educated, whilst the German language sank to the level of the dialect of the uneducated. Then the Luther Bible performed the act of redemption. All other uprisings of the German national spirit against Romanisation were not in vain, but outwardly they always ended in defeat.

Just as such developments have dragged on through the centuries, forces of Romanisation continue to work unnoticed within our people to this very day. Their proponents are, in fact, completely unaware of their own situation, and no personal blame can be laid at their door. But that must not prevent us from pointing out the most dangerous consequence of the Romanisation efforts discussed here. It puts us at a disadvantage compared to other nations and threatens the very survival of our people, a fact to which the experiences of the last decade should have opened our eyes.

If, through centuries of education in German, a tendency towards an exaggerated objectivity directed against one’s own national character has been greatly fostered, then the corresponding counterpart to this—namely, a stance that fails in its critique of other peoples, particularly the classical peoples—could not fail to emerge. However indispensable the theoretical reference to these psychological interconnections may be, the overcoming of this affliction can only be hoped for gradually, through the influence of new, objective insights.

Mair objects to the comparison of Germanic astronomers with those of more southerly lands. It seems to me that, at a time when insights into the Maya culture of Central America 3,500 years ago are leading previous views on the cultural capabilities of ancient peoples – including non-classical peoples – to absurd conclusions, one should be more cautious about denying the Germanic peoples of that era the ability to perform astronomical calculations.

In the time of Hipparchus or Ptolemy, ancient astronomy had just as little access to modern technical aids and scientific knowledge as the Oesterholz astronomers did in the Early Bronze Age. In ancient times, what mattered was simply people’s talent and inclination, their thoroughness and perseverance, and the prior knowledge thus acquired. How, then, is one to explain the view that the Germanic peoples should be credited with less in these matters than the Orientals and Greeks?

The view of Germanic culture, which gradually supplanted the normal, still harmless notions of the 17th century regarding one’s own

This work, which has largely supplanted earlier studies, is heavily influenced by Tacitus's *Germania*; the immense value of the latter for our ancient history has led to a failure to subject many of the details it contains to critical scrutiny. No distinction was made between what this Roman writer, writing for a Roman readership, was able to judge and what he was unable to judge due to a lack of first-hand knowledge. No heed was paid to the fact that he wielded his pen to paint a picture of the Germanic people as he deemed fit or beneficial for his Roman readers. Alongside an understanding of the moral character of the Germanic people and the discernible intention to hold them up as a mirror to the Romans, we also find a profound lack of understanding and inadequate knowledge when it comes to cultural details. Other later, less valuable writers offer here and there a fragment of their deficient knowledge or opinions on Germanic culture—burdened with misunderstanding and aversion—which are readily accepted with the aforementioned 'objectivity'. Consequently, student songs and other sources have fostered a distorted image of the ancient Germanic peoples, who were, on the whole, a wretched lot, lying idly on bearskins, drinking, hunting, smashing each other's and others' skulls, and otherwise living out their lives in a dull-witted manner as 'barbarians'. — The Babylonians, Egyptians and Greeks, by contrast, were 'cultured Europeans'.

In his book *German Prehistory*, pp. 13–48, Kossinna presents a detailed

> A battle against the unbelieving sceptics who deny the Germanic peoples their great achievements in prehistoric times and, for example, attribute the invention of bronze to the Orientals, who — partly caught up in Celtic mania and Phoenician delusions — know nothing of the great contributions of the Stone Age Germanic peoples to horse breeding (p. 16) and the invention of the runes. As early as p. 8, he mocks certain classical philologists and archaeologists: 'For them, the cultural life of the Germanic peoples begins only at the moment when, thanks to a providential stroke of luck, Nom sets foot on the Rhine and across the Rhine, thereby ushering in a new, blessed existence for the wretched, wild barbarians who are supposed to have been our forefathers, where they are touched and warmed by a ray of southern classical culture, so that they are finally able to emerge from the eternal monotony of a dull, predatory existence with no possibility of progress
>
> — where not only all the fine things now to be found among the Germanic peoples, be it in materials, art or technology, but absolutely everything connected in any way with cultural life — allegedly even the first cultivation of cereals — is said to have been introduced into Germanic culture by the Romans, — where even the language is said to have acquired an entirely new vocabulary, centred on Latin loanwords: so that one is justified in calling these first centuries AD in Germanic cultural life the
>
> 'Roman' period (and so on until p. 12).
>
> Today, one must now get used to the fact that these ideas, even in the significantly toned-down form I foresee among the majority of our educated people, no longer find credence everywhere, but are regarded as what they, in my opinion, actually are: a colossal error which, when combined with bias, reveals itself as a fraud. A fraud that is being promoted

had a keen interest in certain periods and movements. What sort of movements are these? There is no need to list them individually, as the single term ‘internationalism’ suffices.

The necessity of international transport and trade ventures, scientific cooperation and mutual support in certain practical tasks (the prosecution of criminals and the like) is self-evident. But anything beyond that must be viewed with suspicious caution, to ensure that these endeavours are not exploited against our people by foreign leaders opposed to the rise of Germanic culture; indeed, the more skilfully they proceed, the less likely it is to be noticed by the average German. In any case, for all those interested in keeping the German people and spirit down, both within and beyond Germany’s borders, there is scarcely a more effective means than the perpetuation of the myth of barbaric Germanic culture.

Despite the emotional resistance of my boyish soul, I have internalised it. Under the weight of all authority—less so at home than at school and in academic study, in historical works and in the overall assessment of culture, insofar as it tends to confront us in literature and in life—this natural feeling was silenced. Only in isolated experiences did it make itself felt again in bursts, such as

when, in my first year of secondary school, an otherwise excellent teacher sought to ridicule the Germanic trousers—that sensible, practical garment designed for cleanliness—in comparison to the Roman toga, all the while flinging his Havelock about with an air of rapture,

or when I opened a new history book and time and again encountered the complete erasure of Germanic culture from ancient history, even though other non-classical peoples were at least dealt with in a few sentences — despite advanced Germanic research,

or when the German historian views the world through a Roman-centric lens and, having just described the decayed state of the Empire, is unwilling to accept that the Germans—who are repeatedly labelled ‘barbarians’—should gain the upper hand over the decayed, yet to him so dear, Empire of former classical glory, as exemplified by the good locksmith,

or when the blatant distortion and mockery of the Edda’s mythological material in many places—as one would expect from the Christian editors of the 13th century, and as indeed occurred—is not discussed in any detail in any of the Edda translations and commentaries known to me at the time, and is therefore probably not even noticed, even though it involves blatant acts of rudeness, meanness and dishonour, simply because one believes that all this must be attributed to the barbaric pre-Christian Germanic peoples, or when, even recently, in the Deutsches Museum in Munich, ‘in the hall dedicated to the writing systems of ancient peoples, everything can be found except a single Germanic runic character*, even though sufficient material is available, and runic script as the

The basis of all scripture must be taken seriously into account.

The folly inherent in the deception is meant to seem appealing and plausible to us

' Similarly, in the ‘Pressa’ in Cologne, 1928.

by the saying that the Germanic peoples, as an unspoilt, vigorous, natural people, had inherited the legacy of the ancient civilised peoples. What hollowness lies in the very word ‘unspoilt’ when applied to a people who have lived their lives for millennia, in whose generations passion and the moderation of passion have taken their toll, just as they did for every individual.

This excuse, which surely flowed from the pens of many of its proponents with a sense of unease, must be recognised for its disastrous effect on historical research, on the self-confidence and on the national consciousness of the Germans, so that one may be filled with righteous anger against all those who culpably brought about the martyrdom of our people, not only through historical oblivion but also through the dishonour wrought by the falsification of history.

If it is at all permissible to link a historical calamity to the name of a single individual, then the abundance and overflow of the misfortune that befell the Germanic people must, in its most essential features, be linked to a name that our betrayed people have been taught to revere as one of their great figures—and, to some extent, are still taught to do so. That is the name of Charlemagne, whose deeds call for it, and whose name is destined to remind us of the necessity of turning away from the errors of the past.

We must now, as a supplement to the account given in Chapter 5, paint a different picture of German culture, one that rises above the previous image and moves towards fulfilment. Not an idealised picture. But we wish to correct the distorted outlines. If I were to point out the dark sides, gaps and shortcomings at the same time, I would, for the sake of fairness, also have to praise the bright sides. Neither is my task here.

In Germania there has dwelt from time immemorial, that is to say at least from the time of the transition to agriculture, a highly gifted people, certainly no less gifted than the Germans of today in relation to the gifts of other peoples. This is one of the irrefutable findings of the science of heredity.

We call the forefathers of our forefathers the Germanic peoples, regardless of when any classical writer first became aware of their existence and learned their name, or when he saw fit to record his account, which has by chance come down to us. Their settlements stretched far to the north-east and east from the Rhine.

These Germanic peoples were at times more or less harassed, and indeed driven back from their lands by other invading peoples; they had their disputes and conflicts amongst themselves; they experienced war and peace just like other peoples. They lived and were content with their lives; they worked and made progress; they were a civilised people just like other peoples.

Except that their culture was fundamentally different from that of the Mediterranean peoples. This was due in part to the climate and the nature of their land, and to the fact that they had to work and struggle far harder to make this land habitable and

profitable. They had the educational advantage that comes from being compelled to o v e r c o m e difficulties.

A difference in culture was also due to the abundance of forests in their land. This was the basis for their preference for timber construction as opposed to the stone construction of the Mediterranean peoples, both in terms of dwellings and of religious and other public buildings, insofar as they did not prefer to do without the latter altogether in favour of their gatherings in the open air. They already had half-timbered buildings like those of today, only with clay infill, as far back as Roman times and probably much

Fig. 79. Interior of an old farmhouse

in the past. References in the *Germania* suggest that their colourful aesthetic was showcased on the houses. Wood carving of the kind still seen today on older rural and urban houses and in the largely uninterrupted development of Nordic timber construction, and as attested by the Oseberg ship as being ancient, was not absent from the Germanic home — rich, less rich and simple, depending on the status, taste and wealth of the owner.

The difference also lay in their aversion to pictorial representations of the deities, an aversion which from the outset robbed the development of the fine arts of the strong impetus to which the sculpture of the classical peoples owed its origin and its rise. Tacitus, whom we are taught to believe, writes on this subject in Germania 9: “Moreover, in the view of the Germans, it is not befitting the majesty of the heavenly beings to confine them within temples and

depict them in human form. They consecrate forests and groves to them and, invoking the names of gods, call upon that mysterious being whom they behold only in pious devotion." It was, therefore, a spiritualised religion. The absence of

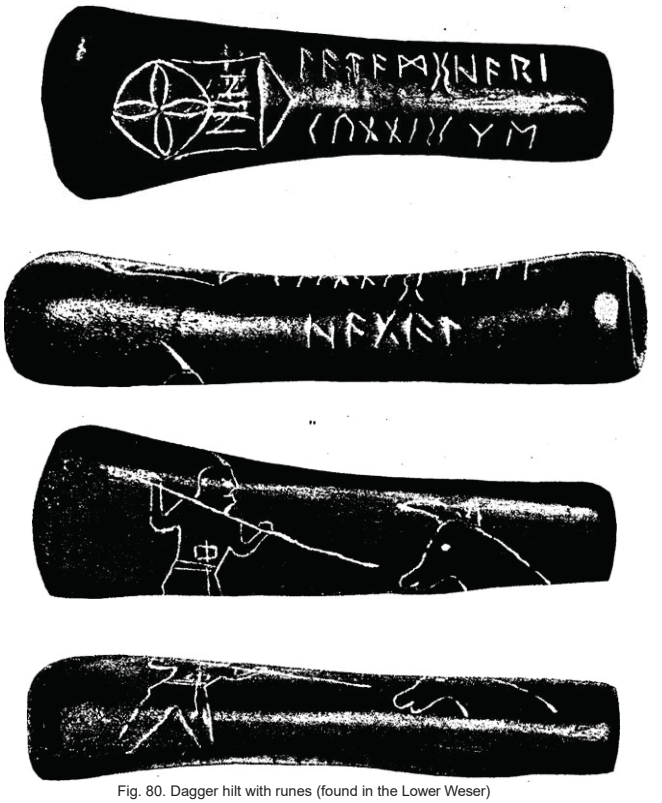

Fig. 80. Dagger hilt with runes (found in the Lower Weser)

Temples and images of gods struck observers belonging to the classical peoples as a particularly striking phenomenon. They also report this of several other peoples, for whom this may constitute important evidence of their affiliation with the great Germanic tribe. In any case, these reports are among the most credible accounts handed down to us regarding the religious life of the ancient peoples. (It is not clear whether reports of images of gods from the final centuries of the Germanic period

are misunderstandings, symbolic images or genuine signs of decay is not clear.)

The difference between the cultures also lay in the entirely different role assigned to writing in Germania. Whilst in Germania, it seems, the recording of thoughts through writing was fundamentally rejected and their gods or priests (like the Druids of Gaul) were forbidden to pass on their knowledge in writing, according to Tacitus, Germania 2, the Germanic form of historical tradition lay in the 'ancient songs'. Runic writing, however, this very invention of the Germanic peoples, is increasingly proving to be the invention of writing itself. The runes originally served only for the interpretation of signs, divination and casting lots. Thus, in the field of writing, they fell centuries behind the less conservative southern peoples. It was not until the turn of our era that it became apparent that practical necessity had brought about a change in outlook, the adoption of the Greek script, and a reworking of the nun 'letters' for purposes other than mystical ones. (Tacitus, Annals; Germania 3.) The West Frankish King Charlemagne deemed it necessary to issue a capitulary forbidding nuns in convents from 'writing down or sending love songs'; 'vimleoäoa seribero vel mitwrs'*. Thus, even outside the convents, to which the songs were sent, one could read them. The development of Germanic literature was abruptly interrupted by the memorable 'collection' of songs and sagas by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, as well as by the order to hand over to Charlemagne all those still serving the old faith, that is, those literate in writing.

The diverse depictions of the dagger hilt bearing runes,
and portrait (Fig. 80) was most kindly provided to me by Prof. von Buttel-Reepen in Oldenburg — evidence of the use of runes in the Lower Saxony region.

But the difference lay in a deeper reason. The Germanic peoples were more sombre than other nations. They did not place much value on pleasing forms, outward refinement, or things of mere amusement. Rather, when they saw something, they were even more eager to know what lay mysteriously hidden behind it. For they were a people of contemplators and seekers of God, of poets and thinkers, as they were later called.

This was also reflected in the cultivation of music, sustained and fostered by a generally good level of talent. In the fields and forests, on isolated farms and in the towns, German folk tunes and melodies resounded; the finest of these survived the great upheavals of the Carolingian era and have come down to our time under the name 'old folk tunes' or, with the mistaken label of 'Medieval', as a valuable, unrecognised legacy of Germanic culture. Moreover, their original text can often still be clearly discerned from the medieval corruption. For accompaniment, there was a rich selection of finely conceived and finely crafted musical instruments; the modern-day technique has scarcely succeeded in reproducing the luren, those resonant ancient horns, some examples of which have been handed down to us. When the singer at the

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'Du Lsnxe's Qlosrrrium, Lrp. Lsroli dl. äc. clivcrrir rcbur 789 crp. z. - v. Buttel-Reepen, Funde von Runen mit bildlichen Darstellungen usw., Verlag Stalling, Oldenburg i. 0.1930.

medieval courts drew the bow or plucked the strings, then his violin or plucked violin was the legacy of his predecessors in Germanic times. Venantius Fortunatus (600 AD) explicitly calls the harp (baroa) a barbaric, i.e. Germanic, musical instrument*. Through the sounds of song, especially the heroic ballad, the history of the Germanic people was passed down from generation to generation and was, it seems, known to all.

Whatever our forefathers pondered and devised in all manner of fields, including practical ones, news, rumours and products of these crossed the borders; just as what other peoples possessed reached them through trade and also through religious ties, which may have been preserved from time immemorial or newly established. But otherwise, people on both sides lived their own lives, kept their distance and understood little of one another, because their cultures and outlooks on life were so very different. Foreign cultural artefacts that came into their land, or which they encountered elsewhere, they always grasped intellectually, mastered, and added to their own cultural heritage, insofar as it could be reconciled with their own character; but sometimes — and increasingly so — beyond what was justified.

Our forefathers were a warlike people of outstanding physical strength, skilled in arms and physical feats, with a love of combat and play. Bathing was a pleasure; washing a habit. Soap is a Germanic invention.

A propensity for fighting and brawling, lawlessness and criminal tendencies were kept in check both by religious beliefs and by legal regulations, compliance with which was monitored by the parish assembly with its self-appointed judges and leaders. Above all, however, the whole of life was underpinned by deeply rooted notions of honour and by custom. Blood feuds represented a form of clan self-defence which, although subject to the supervision of the community, was nonetheless, to our sensibilities, a terrible one. The tightly knit clan ensured the well-being of the individual.

Both the land system, which secured the land as the property of the community, and the organisation of the districts between the tribes and within their territories, through which important functions of community life were fulfilled, reflected the people's love of freedom and their keen understanding of the common good.

Trade and commerce, art and science—indeed, the fulfilment of all economic and intellectual needs—were developing in a manner that reflected the people's natural aptitude for all these matters, their inclinations, and the prevailing general state of culture in the ancient world. The artefacts of applied arts and crafts that have come down to us through archaeological finds and other sources bear witness to technical skill, stylistically appropriate artistic taste and a corresponding cultural need in the overall way of life, which places the Germanic people in the forefront in competition with other contemporary peoples. The people as a whole evidently took pleasure in providing for their needs, as far as possible, through their own labour and from self-produced materials. Where this was not possible, there were craftsmen and merchants, skilled smiths, *Deutsches Wörterbuch, Ricker, Gießen 1857, I*
p. 480. ° Neuburger, Technology of Antiquity, p. 119.

and officials who lived together in the larger settlements, market towns and cities, without, however, there being any necessity or inclination for people to live in close quarters, as in the cities of the south.

One of the distinctive traits of the Germanic peoples was their aversion to minted coin, which first appeared around 700 BC among the Lydians (Croesus!) and was adopted rather slowly throughout the ancient world. The technical aspect naturally played no small part for the makers of metal artworks. Mair, in an instinctively correct intuition, resisted the moral danger of the monetary organisation of power differentials and standards among people. Herodotus points out that the moral superiority and authority of the Lacedaemonians (which the other Greeks acknowledged with almost touching self-awareness and submission) had declined from the time when they, like the others, had succumbed to the love of money. Even during the Migration Period, the Germanic peoples did not accumulate their treasures in the form of minted coins, but in artistic jewellery. Roman money circulated in Germania only out of necessity and as a matter of courtesy. It was not until Charlemagne that the Saxons were compelled, through taxes and penalties expressed in 'saldi', to acquire minted currency. This aversion persisted through the Middle Ages and well into modern times, particularly as the practice of counterfeiting with inferior coins was rife and remained so.

The Germanic peoples were a ruling people, but not conquerors driven by a desire to subjugate and dominate others, as we see in the case of the Eastern despots, Alexander the Great, the Romans and the West Franks. Such a mere lust for conquest was never, and is not now, part of the inherent nature of true Germanic culture. There were other reasons why the Germanic peoples sent their heroes to wage war against other peoples — even in the case of the Normans and Vikings, who, in their exuberant vigour, sought to gain land, the glory of victory and spoils of war. Generally speaking, they did not harass their neighbours.

However, when a tribe sent out its surplus population to secure new settlement land, conflicts arose from this. Free settlement land was requested. If it was denied to the petitioners, they took it for themselves, because they were strong, well-armed and, in many respects, superior to other peoples.

The encounter between the Germanic tribes and the mighty Roman Empire was of world-historical significance for both peoples. For Rome, the conqueror of nations, the unbroken string of victories came to an end. They feared and hated, respected and despised, shunned and sought out the tall, fair-haired figures, and depicted them in bronze and stone. What Roman literature tells us about the Germanic peoples reflects the contradictory relationship between the two nations. From the first encounter with the Cimbri and Teutons onwards, for centuries the gaze and consideration of the Germanic peoples dominated Roman policy. They were needed as mercenaries for their reliability and strength, when they could be made to serve; but when one sought to dominate them, all ambitions beyond the Limes and the Rhine met their limit. Ultimately, the Roman Empire collapsed under the might of individual Germanic tribes. And yet, fate decreed that a mixed Germanic-Roman people would bring a Roman wave over Germania with lasting consequences.

This people was made up of many independent tribes, but in terms of language,

and religion, in terms of customs and law, way of life and other aspects of culture, it was one people; just as in the Middle Ages and in modern times, the unity of the German people and their culture has been preserved despite political fragmentation and despite internecine strife.

It was only late in the day that the Romans came to realise the unity of the Germanic people. Generally speaking, from time immemorial and right up to the so-called Migration Period, it was, after all, only the individual tribes that allowed their excess energy to spill over into land conquest when their homeland became too cramped for their accustomed way of life.

Wherever these men and women of Germanic blood were able to settle, whether in compact communities, like the Scythian band in the Netherlands, or scattered across the land, like the conquerors of the Pelasgian indigenous population of Greece, there they initially became the ruling class: They imparted to the conquered peoples the culture and knowledge they possessed, adapted to their customs and character, and sometimes even to their language; they intermingled with them and were absorbed into them — unless, in accordance with the laws of heredity, their form, spirit and nature remained discernible in individuals, particularly among the ruling class, even after centuries. Only on Germanic soil does the Germanic character endure in the long term, with few exceptions.

This is how things turned out for them in Babylon, Egypt and the other Mediterranean countries as well. Among the things they brought with them is probably also astronomy, whose astral-mythological connections strongly confirm the path this science has taken. As far as I can see, all recent scholars of this subject have come to this conclusion, including Arthur Drews in the chapter on the starry sky in Germanic mythology^, where it states: “They do indeed make it seem increasingly doubtful whether astronomy really originated in Babylon, and whether, on the contrary, Babylonian astronomy did not arise in prehistoric (pre-sumerian) times from the influence of northern European nomadic peoples, to whom the Egyptian pyramids also owe their astronomical character.”,

I claim for this image that, after a life unfortunately spent in error, it was created with honestly sought-after objectivity under the

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Tacitus, in *Germania* 2, reports the view that “at first, all the Germanic tribes were called ‘Germanic’ by the victor out of fear, but later they came to refer to themselves by this name, which had been given to them at that time”. Prof. Or. Mucha (Brandenburg an der Havel), the author of the books *Pile-dwelling, House-building and Greek Temples* and

“The 4,000-Year History of the Hermunduri-Thuringi People” (Jena 1909 and 1910), holds the view that ‘Qcrmani’ represents a convenient shortening, adopted by the Gauls and Romans, of the ancient name ‘Dungcrmrnrrriboccкn’, which was broken down in the Lower Rhine region into the three names: Langer — tvlsni (i.e. IvlrnLpH and Klammi)— Irirndorckii (Strombaudengau). Regarding the origin of this long name, which forms the second half of a Germanic ‘battle cry’ and derives from the Stone Age invocation of the thunderous ‘l’bunrrsl’bunbarchumurbui-uckuxur!’ , Professor Muchau intends to publish a comprehensive treatise in the near future, in which the numerous variant forms of this name, e.g. Ikinxliei-munclurl boji etc., are to be discussed. - Herodotus, Book 4. My evidence for the Germanic origin of the Slyihen in

“Germania”. Vol. 2, No. 1. “A. Drews, The Starry Sky, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Jena 1923.

arising from the logical necessity of the conclusions we must draw from what archaeology, German studies, comparative mythology and the science of heredity have taught us, in conjunction with the identification of the Germanic sanctuaries in the Lsningmark and at the Lippegnellen.

Mb. Boulders

For a significant portion of the material in this book, further development and refinement of its rationale, analysis and coherent discussion are desirable or necessary in order to incorporate it into the intellectual heritage of the German people. The bimonthly journal ‘Germanien’ is intended to serve this purpose. I recommend this journal to all those who consider the progress of research in the spirit of this book to be valuable and wish to be kept informed about it.

The author

‘Germanien’, Journal for the Study of Germanic History. (Contributions) Suggestions,

Index of names and subjects

Aachen 1Ü2, 201, 255, 263.
Abel 47, 51, 268, 273.
Abbio 25S.
Abdinghof 43, 122, 169.
Formula of renunciation 117, 148.
Arable farming 15, 72, 171, 205, 245 ff., 284.
Adalhard 98 ff., 101.
Agister Stone 41.
Egypt 65, 162, 184, 191, 205, 226, 282, 290.
Ahausen near Verden 154, 159.
Ancestor worship 141 ff.
Ahrenfeld 221.
Acacia 149.
Alans 248.
Alcuin 65, 267.
Aldebaran 74.
Alemanni 102, 125, 267, 276.
Alexandria 65.
Aliso 56, 91, 189.
Allod 164, 170, 173 ff.
Allodial system 265 ff.
Alme 56, 196.
Almena 178, 221.
Alpirsbach 53.
Altar (stone) 22, 161, 169, 23V:
Mtenbeten 42, 47 ff., 191.
Altenburg 232.
Altenhagen I 222.
Mtseld 72.
Althamar 156.
Mtblomberg 224, 232.
Altschieder 47, 204, 211.
Altslernberg 220.
Mtupsala 145.
Alverdissen 178.
Amada 205.
Ambronen 93.
Amelgatzen 214.
Ammianus Marcellinus 248.
Amphyltiones 88.
Ampsivarians 64.
Anemüller, Prof. 180.
Anglo-Saxons 92, 280.
Angrivaricr 57, 88 ff., 165, 170, 188, 196, 248.
Angrivarierwall 192, 198.
Annakapelle Watchtower 235.
Anna Tower 221.
Antilaglie 11.
Antonin 156.
Images of the Apostles 35, 42, 49, 52.
Aquitaine 273.
Archaeology 5 ff., 8, 14 ff., 28, 72, 77, 81, 91, 104, 106, 111, 140, 142, 145, 150, 163, 167, 171ff., 176, 187, 204, 231, pp. 244 ff., 291.
Arciurus 74.
Are Frode 64.
Ariovist 133.
Arminius see Hermann.
Arzen 219.
AschenLeck 146.
Aschenstedt 146, 232.
Aschenweg 145 et seq.
Ascheroth IM.
As-n 84, 125.
Asenberg 228.
Asenegge 178, 228, 242.
Aspenwiese 234 ff.
Assemissen 228.
Asse 223. -
Assyrians 184.
Astarte 75.
Astrology 72.
Astronomy 24, 28, 64 ff., 139, 141, 203 ff., 239, 242, 281, 290.
Attigny 259.
Aurelius Victor 125.
Axe 113.
Azimuth 68 ff.

Babelsberg 236.
Babilome 222.
Babylon 26, 191, 282, 290.
Bannenberg 89, 165.
Baogolf 273.
Barbarism 11, 58, 133, 192, 258 ff., 260, 268, 278, 282.
Bardenburg 237.
Barenau 178.
Bärenstein 45, 156, 166.
Barmen 236.
Barnacken 28.
Vartelslrug 224, 226.
Bataver 114, 24k
Bauhütte 36.
Bavaria 262, 265, 268, 272 ff., 276.
i Beda Venerabilis 248.
Velenburg 237.
i Bentheim 53.
Sanctuary 126, 172 ff., 206 ff.
l Berlebeck 181.
Berlin 236.
Bernhard, Count 44.
Bessen 44.
Beutling 222 ff.
Bevo 59, 90, 96, 170.
Bible, Testament. 37, 75, 161 ff.
Biedenlapp 205.
Bielefeld 212 ff.
Bierde 232.
Bieren 215 ff.
Bildwerk 14, 54, 105.
Binz 141.
Bismarcktanzel 238.
Bisperode 221.
Blue, bloody stone 164.
Blomberg 232.
Blood (bloodlust) 2 f., 170, 251, 261, 290.
Vodensunde 69, 82, 154, 189 ff., 243.
Bohuslän 130.
Boiocalus 64.
Bölkehals 184, 189.
Bomsatius-Wynsried 259 ff., 262.
Borgholzhausen 197, 222 ff.
Born, Sonnborn 164.
Brale near Lemgo 212 ff.
Vrandstapcl 143, 148, 164, 166, 192, 206, 220, 224, 226, 234, 239.
Brandt 27b.
Brauch 14, 36, 38, 57, 62, 120, 203 ff., 240, 246, 249, 258, 290.
Braunenbruch 59, 97, 169 ff., 173.
Braunschweig 59, 125, 16S ff.
Brautberg 8S, 165.
Brennelse 164, 166.
Bremen 218 ff.
Brenkermar! 195.
Breslau 235 ff.
Brittany 142, 164, 166.
Britain, Britons 101, 138, 142, 164, 166.
Bronze Age 81, 91, 113, 137, 139, 224, 242 ff., 251, 281.
Bruckterer 57, 115, 125, 177, 196, 248.
Brüntorf 89.
Bückeburg 12, 221.
Büderich 177.
Bullcrborn 47.
Bünde 222.

Busdorf 96.
v. Buttel-Reepen 6, 287.

Caecina 198.
Caesar, Jul. 64, 86, 133, 246, 250,
26Ü, 268, 271.
Caesischer Wald 195. Calenberg 59, 88, 158. Cant 280.
Copacabana 38.
Caftor 121. Cato 250. Chaldeans 73.
Charlottenburg 236.
Chatten 57, 89, 155, 15S, 194, 248.
Chauken 198, 248.
Cherusci 57, 88 ff., 165, 169,
177, 188, 199, 224, 248.
Chrislenberg 221.

Christianity 1, 10, 12 ff., 17 ff., 38,
58, 62, 117, 120 ff., 144, 148, 151,
155, 166, 169, 172, 205, LOS,
218, 228, 252, 254, 256, 258,
261,
271 ff.
Christianisation 85, S8, 227, 254,
257, 267 ff.
Chronology 14, 72, 111. Cimbri 57, 246, 271, 289. Civilis 57, 88, 114.
Clostermeicr 58, 90, 104, 194.
Corby 98, 101.
Cortez 269.
Corvey pp. 9, 96, 98 ff., 170.
Curtis 111.

Dated 125.
Dedingerheide 56, 61.
Dehmerbiirg 204.
Deinsen 221.
Deister 177 ff., 221.
Deister Watte 222.
Delphi 115.
St. Denis 257.
Monument (research) 3, 61, 202.
Detmold 12, 45, 58, 93, 125, 161,
168 ff., 178, 182, 184.
Dettmar 24 pp.
Dewitz 17.
Dickerberg 166, 172, 222 ff.

Dickcwied 162.
Dickwied 166.
Diekmann 91, 244.
Dierhagen 125.
Dietrich von Bern 56, 14S. Ding 61,
164.

Dio 182, 188, 191.
Dittman 48.
Dittrich, E. 65, 203.
Dodona 88.
Dolle 119.
Donar, Thumar 54, 191, 258.

Danube56,248.
Dönberg 216.
v. Donop 45, 166, 215, 222.
Donopertal 123, 178.
Dopsch 86.

Döhrenlopf222.
Dörenberg 173, 219 ff., 222 ff.
Dörener Tower 218, 237.
Dörenschlucht 181, 220.
Döringsfeld 161, 170.
Dorn,Dören217,219.
Dornberg216f.
Dörrenberg,Or.169,186pp.,196.
Dötlingen 146, 166, 232.
Dreiruderer 114, 198.
Drews 5, 64, 290.
Droschlau 233 ff.
Druids 80, 85, 287.
Drusus 38, 91, 180.
Duandus 23.
Dukgubnier 57, 88, 125.
Dnstcrsict, F. 141, 162.
Düsterster, W. 82, 114, 146.
Diitberg 238.
Dütebach 177.

Ebbcrg 222.
Eberesche 149.
Ebert, Prof, 113.
Boar breeding 147, 238.
Ecbert 59, 96, 101.
Corner 149.
Eckelau 122 ff., 129, 148, 149, 196.
Edda 50, 56, 75, 167 ff., 283.
Edle 58 ff., 159, 194, 261.
Egge 41, 45, 56, 170.
Eichau 234 ff.
Eidam, Prof. 1V6.
Eigenart 2 see
Ownership 126, 138,
163.
Cigil 257.
Einbeck 99.

Einhard 35, 58, 88, 113, 198, 252,
254, 260, 26», 269 ff., 274, 276.
Eisbergen 198.
Iron Age 82, 91, 113, 139, 244.

! Eisler 279.
! Ice Age 209.
! Ettchard 102.
Elbe 199, 270, 276.
^Elberfeld 237.
i Elsbuchen 236.

i Else» 56.
s Elster 41.
Emmertal 93, 211.
Ems 93, 179, 196, 198.
Emscherbruch 125.

Engern 223.
England, see Britain. Epagomen 64.
Epoch 71. Erbt,
vr. IM.

Erder 89.
Erdwer! 142 ff., 218.
Eresburg 47.
Ermanrich 248.
Erpentrup ISS.

! Esche 164.
! Espenfeld-Willsöden 195.
. Essen 248.
Eugenius 122.
Evergisus 157.
Ewald 121.
Externstem 17 ff., 64, 84, 89, 97,
119, 147 ff., 149, 159/165, 168,
1S1, 194, 201, 203 ff.
Extreme 23, 25, 28, 71.

Technical terms 110ff., 153, 231.
Half-timbered construction 1V8, 152, 285.
FaNe 100. -
Falkenburg 59.
Fanø 94.
Fanum 75, 196.
Faustkeil 33, 82.
Law of the Fist152,211,266..
Feldrom see Veldrom. Fcldheiligtum 240.
Rock painting 47 ff.
Rock coffin 36 ff.
Fergusson 138 ff.
Festivals 58, 117, 156.

Feststraße see Fürstenallee.
Feudal system 223, 265, 277.
Fire 64, 148, 154, 231.
Hearth 146.
Lighthouse 172, 222.

(boulder)142,173see
Fischbeck 223.
Fissenknick 28, 47, 89, 162, 165.
Fixed star 73 ff.
Flat image 43, 45, 52.

Florus 133, 182, 188. Flötepseise 216, 224, 23 t. Refuge 67, 80, 190. Field names 140, 173, 244.
Franconians, Weslsranken,
Franconian 8, 57, 85, 92, 107 ff., 122, 151, 156,
168, 170, 180, 208, 210, 230 ff., 254 ff., 289.
Frantenburg 229 ff.
Frankental 47.
Frankfurt am Main 152.
Franlomanen 111.
Fredersdorf 236.
Freiligrath 18.
Freemasons 36, 95. Frcistuhl 88, 96, 159. Freya, Fro 54, 75, 148, 258.
Freytag, G. 248.
Freveri 60.
Fricke, F. 211.
Fricke, teacher 100.
Friesen 107.
God of Spring, God of Easter 117, 119, 211.
Fulda 260, 262.

Fürstenallee, Fcststraße 6V ff., 124, 127, 134, 137 ff., 147.
Fürstenberg, Bishop 47, 56, 99, 156, 176, 178 ff., 196.

Gobelin 237.
Galgenberg 223.
Galgenluhle 222 ff.
Gallen, St. 274.
Gaul 102, 110, 230, 261, 276.
Gauselöte 181.
Prisoners 121, 191 ff., 271.
For 'secret knowledge', see 'Mysteries'. Gelse 182.
Geiersberg 235.
School of scholars 78, 91.
Money 289.
Vow, oath 37, 260.
Gemmete 44.
Gemodium 274.
Geography 87, 218.
Court (law) 88, 188, 227, 246, 25 t, 261, 265, 288, 290.
Court 146, 149, 161, 173, 216, 223, 23S.
Germamcus 38, 91, 114, 173, 185 ff., 194 ff.
German Studies 291.
"Germania", Journal 6, 33, 98, 240, 244, 248, 291.
Historical error (lie) 8, 11.
Gesecke 96, 128. Celestial service, celestial sanctuary 17 ff., 41, 203, 240.
Stud farm 123, 125, 158.
Giefers 41.

Gierten 96.
Gjellerup 133.
Glaner Braut 142, 146, 156, 227.
Mech 233, 235.
Mocken 217 ff.
Älockenbaum 222.
Glöckner 156.
Goar,St.274.
Gode 85, 211, 287.
Goethe 53.
Goldenstedt 232.
Goldfund, Eberswalder 154.
Goths 10, 13, 64, 216, 248.
Worship 141 ff.
Lists of Gods75.
Judgement of God 57, 272.
Deity 26 see
cemetery222,244.
Grave finds 106 ff., 224.
Burial site 227.
Excavation 41, 137, 150, 157, 169, 182, 220, 241.
Grave design 214, 224.
Greste 89.
Atrocities (reports) 38, 192 ff., 256, 274.
6^75.0 gE"l31^ 13!h 246, 282 ff.
Grimm 50, 104, 196.
Grochau 233 ff.
Großburg 235.
Grotenburg 175 ff., 201.
Grotte 17 ff., 30, 33, 168.
Grupen 60.
Gudcnslau 63.
Günther 8, 261.
Gunzenhausen 10V. Expert opinion, astronomical 7.
Gütersloh 224.

Haarslang 195.
Haase 125, 168.
Häberlin, Dr IW.
Habrighausermart 195.
Haenichm 181, 184, 188.
Hagedorn 61.
Hagen in Westphalia 140. Hahne, Prof. 144.
Hain 37, 45, 58, 89, 93, 95, . 101, 120, 123, . 129, 149 ff., l 163, 165 ff., 198, 201, 228, 1 233, 238, 286.
> Hornbeam 89.
Hainhaus 218.

! Hornbeam 238.
, Hainrot 221.
Swastika 33.
Hall construction 168.
Hallstatt 153, 231.
Hamelmami 35, 42, 49 et seq.
Hameln 44, 238.
i Hamersleben 53.
Hammer of the Gate 164.
, Trade, Merchants 87, 152 ff., 243, 249, 288.
Trade education 230, 243.
Craftsmen 152 ff., 288.
Hangstein 189.
i Hanover 125, 214.
Hardehausen 59, 157.

^Harius 156.
iHartrören 123.

Harmnal-Raschid 65, 122.

Harzer Land 211.
in Hathumar 101.
Hauck 257 ff., 266, 270 ff., 273.
Hauser, Dr. 41, 134.
Haustenbeck 129, 146.
Häver 9.
Haxthausen 59.
Hecht, Senior Lecturer 79.
Heddern 190.
Heddernheim 190.
Heath (Paganus) t90.
Heidelbeck 89.
! Heiden 190, 222.
Heidenlirche 28, KU, 114, 158.
! Heidenoldendorf 187 ff., 204.
i Heidental 179, 181, 189 ff.
! Heidrun 75.
Heiligenberg 214 ff.
! Heiligengcistcrholz 214 ff.
Heiligenlirchen 168.
Heinrich I 155, 265.
Heinrich, Abbot 31, 43.
Heisenlüchen 238.
Heißen 195.
Held, Adolf 232.
Hellinghausen 89, 178.
Hellweg 86.
Helm 58, 88.
Helmern 196.
' Hengist and Horsa 121,
IM. j Henle (Meier) 60, 96, 130.
> Henle-Lehmann 176 ff., 196.

Henricus de Herfordia
49. Hertules 54.
Herlingsburg 40, 47, 89, S3, 214, 224 ff.
Hermann, Adolf IS, 45.
Hermann, Cherusker 57, 93, 176, 188, 224.
Hermann Monument 28, 68, 172, 175, 204.

Hermsdorf 149, 236.
Herodotus 65, 115, 121, 28S ff.
Herse 93.
Hersfeld 260.
Heßler 232.
Hessengau 157 ff.
Hethi 83, 98 ff.
Heulmeier 216.
Heusler 86.
Hiddesen 169 ff., 179, 188, 191, 204.
Hiddensen 89.
Hiddentrup 224.
Hieroglyphs 194.
Hildesheim 223.
Hilgenplatz 221.
Hillentrup 21S.
Compass points 205 ff., 214, 232, 238 ff.
Hipparchus 281.
Hippopodes 94.
Hiram 37.
Hirsch 235.
Hofmann, von 271.
Hohelüchte 214 ff.
Hohenhausen 89.
Hohensonne 220.
Hohenstein 118.
Hohenwart 224, 232.
Holle, Lady 75.
Holste, teacher 154.
Holste, district forester 63.
Half-timbered construction (culture) 9, 26, 55, 107 ff., 142, 168, 192, 201, 285.
Holzhausen 43, 89, 178.
Holzmann 62.
Holzung 86.
Homburg 221.
Homburg v. d. Höhe 182.
Homer 139.
Hoop 113.
Hordrat 272 ff.
Horizont 73, 76, 78, 205, 238 ff.
Som 17, 43, 89, 181 ff., 1S1.
Hörsignal 216, 231 ff., 239.
Horst 232.
Hude 86, 126, 138, 163.
Hufeisen(sund) 182 ff.
! Hill sanctuary 100, 141, 142 ff., 1S4, 227.
Hühnerberg 229, 236.
Hülsen 166.
Humanists 268, 281.
Humseld 178.
Hunaland 56.
Hundmühle 164.

Megalithic forts 212 ff., 219, 230, 232. 152.
Megalithic tomb 28, 60, 67, 81, 136 ff., 142 ff., 146, 166, 169, 210, 219 pp., 224, 226, 242.
Hünen(Hünnen)lirchc 28, 68, 104, 114, 168, 224.
Hünenring 181.
Hünenschlösser 214, 237.

Huns 56, 248.
Huno 173f.
Hussites 210, 220.
Huth 123.
Hypatia 65.

Iburg 178, 237.
Ida 59, 96 ff.
Jdaturm 221.
Ideogram 33, 65.
Jdistaviso 198.
Jmiko 59.
Jmsenburg 195.
Jndiculus 120.
India 131, 205.
Indo-European 26, 251.
Ingelheim 273 ff.
Inca 38.
Incarnation 27.
Innocent III 252.
Inquisition 252.
Intermittent 47.
Internationalism 283.
Jrminsul 35, 42, 45, 47 ff., 93, 103, 119, 224, 253.
Jroschottisch 26l>.
Isabellen 125.
Islam 65.
Iceland 64.
Jsselhorst 216, 224.
Jstar 75.
Jsthmyen 131.
Jstorf 89.
Istrup 224.
Italy 36, 110, 192.

Hunting 86.
Jähns 125.
Jakob-Friesen 111, 231, 243 ff., 268.
.
Jakoby, Prof. 114, 182 ff.
Jalobsberg 168.
Jarmer 235.
Jeremias, Prof. 75.
Johannissteine near Lage
222. Jöllenbecker Thi 215
ff.
Jordanes 64, 85. . Jordanqucllе 56,
Jürgen, St. 218.
Kalenberg 204, 212.

Calendar (Mab) 64, 72, 75, 205, 208, 240.
Kallmörtel 82, 105, 108 ff., 172, 218, 222, 230.
Kalldorf 89.
Kalliefe 202. Calvary
2V9. Kamen 195.
Kampsspiel see Games.
Kapella 71, 74 ff., 79.
Capitularies 112, 201, 252, 268.
Charles the Fat 274.
Charlemagne 7 ff., 35, 38 ff., 41 ff., 47 ff., 66, 58 ff., 65, 89, 93, 99, 125, 129, 151 ff., 155 ff., 159, 161, 168 ff., 180, 196, 201, 208, 224, 239, 247, 252 ff., 261 ff., 281, 284, 287, 289.
Carolingian 155, 170, 180, 254 ff., 261.
Castor 71, 74.
Catacombs 22.
Cadastre 70 ff., 123.
Kattenturm 218.
Merchants 192.
Kautasus 202.
Skittles 143.
Waiters 60, 82.
Celts, Celtic, Celtic mania 8, 11, 37, 50, 242 ff., 282.
Kepler League 12.
Ceramics 106.
Keilcskau 166.
Keulendorf 236.
Kiesberg 237.
Kirchdornberg 217, 219.
Church improvements 13.
Kirchohsen 219.
Kirchwalingen 232.
Kisa 17.
Klapperberg 216, 235.

Klapperlapelle 234.
Hermitage, hermit 43.
Klcon 65.
Klingelholl 237.
Klockenbrint 216.
Monastery S6, SS ff., 157, 209, 218, 260. 86.
Klvtzeburg 232.
Kluckhof 89.
Klüver 177.
Kneblinghausen 178.
Knick 89, 126, 149, 162.
Knickenhagen 89.
Knoch 61.
Koch, Mathias 11, 231.
Kohlstädt, Kohlstädt Ruins 28 ff., 58 pp. 62, 67, 88, 96 ff., 104 ff., 124, 157 ff., 15S, 230, 242.
Cologne 114.
Königsberg (Porta) 221.
Kömgslanzel 223.
Königslau 122, 124, 127, 129, 141, 144 ff., 149 ff., 196.
Königszinne 221.
Konradisturm 223.
Kopermlus 74.
Körner, Dr. 53.
Kossinna 11, 231, 242 ff., 251, 282.
Köterberg 213 ff., 225, 228, 232.
Kottmann 140.
Krähenlau 123.
Kränge 125.
Krause, Or. 156.
Krebs, Oi-. 243.
Krecke 97.
District Council 188.
Cross 25, 52, 209, 237 ff.
Descent from the Cross 45, 48, 52.
Cloisters 62.
Cross-shaped ridge 62 ff., 81, 127, 145 ff., 244.
Kreye 177.
Kuhsahl, Or. 202, 238.
Cult sites 114 ff.
Places of worship 22, 42, 44, 131, 142ff., . 214, 227, 231, 240.
Cultural level 269, 278.
Cultural destruction 10 f., 14, 64, 66, 269.
Cult association 42.
Grief, n. 6, 260.
Arts and crafts 8, 282, 288.
Dome construction 83 ff., 98.
Laar 222.
Lager 67, 106, 157, 173, 187 ff., 205.
Lamp, eternal 166.
Landewand 173.
Landscape selection 3.
Land settlement
Lang 130 ff., 140, 173.
Langelau 56, 122, 127, 129 ff., 140, pp. 143, 145, 148, 19 t, 196.
Langeloh 140, 173.
Langenberg 45, 131, 237.
Langenholzhausen 89.
Langenkamp 173.
Langental 131.
Langewand146,173.
Langewiese61,131,173.
Langobards 140, 246, 276.
Latsne 153, 231.
Laucnslein 221.
Lechtenberg 219.
Ledebour 88.
Leese 89.
Clay construction 106, 108.
Loanword 87.
Serfdom 266.
Physical exercise 133.
Leichsenring 233.
Leistruper Forest 28, 58, 89, 156, 161 ff., 170, 221, . 244.
Lemgo 47, 89.
Leo III, 169, 202, 252.
Leonard, Abbot
44. Letzener SS
f.
Leuchten, on 221 i
Leuchtnamen 235 f.
Lichtenberg 232.
Lichtenberg near Berlin 236. Lichtenrade near Berlin 236. Lichtenwalde 235.
Lichterfelde near Berlin 236. Lichtervelde in Belgium 236. Traffic light 216, 239.
Lichtscheid near Barmen 237.
Song(Singing)4,65,120,267,287f.
Listinae120.
Limberg 219.
Limburg 219.
Linde 61, 149, 164, 219.
Lindclau 122, 129, 149, 194.
Lippe (region) 7, 12, 44, 46, 59, 89, 178, 214.
Lippe Springs, Lippe 56 ff., 93, ! 114 ff., 148, 151, 179, 189, ' 194 ff., 197, 242, 244, 251, 254, 291.
Lippspringe 58, 151 ff., 156.
Lippstadt 195.
Liutberga 274.
Livius 50.
Loh, Lau 123, 129 ff., 138, 146, 149 pp. 156, 232.
Löns 277.
Lopshorn 122 ff., 158, 194.
Lorsch 273 ff., 276.
Löschte 105, 201.
Ransom 192. '
Lothar 113.
Lorraine 203.
Lottery 77 ff.
Louis the Pious 98, 103, 113, 117, 151, 264 ff., 267, 276, 287.
! Lüerdissen 89.
Lügde 40, 224.
Luginsland 204, 211, 220.
Luhe 89.
Lüneburg Heath 95, 142, 216. Luperlus 11ö.
Luther 281.
Meuse 250.
Madonna 75 ff.
Mainz 47, 152.
Maja 38, 133, 281.
I Mahler 133.
Malkreuz 164, 202.
- Painting site 161, 164 ff., 221, 227, 238.
Malta 22.
Fairy tales 65.
Marienburg 218.
Marienfeld 224.
Marienlult 76. .
Marius 57.
Mart Aurel 107, 153.
Mart, Markengürtel 58 ff., 86 ff., 122, 125, 128, 146, 148, 153, 158, 165, 170, 190, 194 ff., 198, 214, 243, 247, 249 ff., 262, 288.
Marlen distribution 96, 101, 129, . 159, 262, 265.
Markgcnojsen 87.
Markts 88, 92, 198 ff.
Market, market towns 153, 192, 244, 289.
Mars 48.
Marser 57, 88, 125, 145 ff., 177, 194 ff., 248.

Maßloh 199.
Maßlingen, Meßlingen 192.
Matorf 89.
Maltiacum 155.
Mecklenburg 203.
Meerbeck 237.
Meerfelder Bruch 125.
Megalithic tombs 92, 142, 249.
Meier-Böte 224.
Meinberg 28 pp., 204.
Meinders 197.
Meinwerl 169.
Meißner 113.
Menhir 206.
Menke 44.
Human sacrifice 38, 121.
Meridian 71, 204.
Mercury 48, 54.
Merlsheim 159.
Merovingian, Merovingian 12, 110ff., 230ff., 261, 276.
Metal 9, 289.
Mexico 117, 152, 269 ff.
Meysenbug, von 122.
Meyer, Sup. 93.
Micus 180.
Minden 219, 237.
Mithras 35.
Mediterranean peoples 9, 117, 131, 201 ff., 218, 284 ff., 290.
Mommsen 50, 176 ff., 243.
Mond 23 ff., 64, 68, 71 ff., 119, 201 ff., 240.
Mönkeberg 89, 173.
Montenus 156.
Lime mortar, see lime mortar.
Mordireuz 237 ff.
Moses 162, 228.
Mossenberger Himmel 224, 227 ff.
Muchau, Prof. 290.
Müller-Brauel 82, 13S, 142.
Munich 205, 283.
Münden 199.
Münster 182.
Coins 183, 187, 289.
Museums 9, 15, 54, 81, 153, 183, 205, 230, 283.
Music (instruments) 287.
Womb of the Earth 33, 43.
Mysteries 37, 95.
Mythology 3, 28, 65, 73, 75, 290 ff.

Nantes, Rancid 161, 201 ff., 219, 238.
Nose, Rev. 93.
Naumann 12.
Nebert 157, 183.
Neckel 6, 8, 50, 242 ff.

Nennen 131.
Nethegau 89.
Neubourg 177, 181, 194.
Neuburger 184, 288.
Neudeck 233.
Neugebauer 68, 78.
Neuhaus (Elsen) 56, 58, 196.
Neuhaus (Solling) 98 ff.
The Nibelungenlied 50.
Nidhard 264.
Lower Saxony 102, 130, 205, 219, 233, 277.
Niederschönhagen 224.
Nieheimer Warte 239.
Nilolailirche-Berlin 236.
Nile 75.
Niche 22.
Nissen, Prof. 201.
Nodfyr 206.
Nollau, Prof. 86.
Nomads 246.
Nonnenstein 215.
North 174, 203 ff., 240.
Normans 289.
Norway 101.
Notker 274 ff.
Nottberg 221.

Oberhannsdorf 234.
Oberhausen 195.

Objectivity 9, 11, 15, 41, 51, 156, 231, 279 ff.
Obotrites 276.
Observatories 68.
Oda 59, 96, 128.
Oeynhausen (Ogenhusen) 157 ff.
Ohrberg 238.
Oldenburg 146, 156, 232.
Oldendorf (Groß) 221.
Olympia 88, 131.
Sacrificial rites (meal, offering) 4, 26, 45, 115, 121, 166, 191, 192.
Sacrificial stone 18, 28, 161, 164.
Oracle 37.
Orient, East 12, 26, 36, 72, 84, 117, 152, 281 ff., 289.
Orientation, location 24 ff., 67, 79, 201 ff.
Orion 71, 74 ff.
Örlinghausen 168, 242, 244.
Ortstem 137.
l Oseberger Schiff 285.
j Osnabrück 142, 178, 219, 237.
Osning, Osningmart 7, 40, 57 ff., 82, 114, 125, 156, 165, 169 ff., 178, 191, 194, 228, 242, 2dl.
Easter bonfire 148, 206, 208.
Eastern deity see Spring deity holy.
Easter wood 218.
Osterhorn 232.
Ostera'54, 75, 84, 92 ff., 148,

Oesterholz 58 ff., 64 ff., 90 ff., 100 ff., 119, 122 ff., 12S ff., 142, 145 ff., 149, 158 ff., 169 ff., 179, 194, 196 ff., 199, 203 ff., 240, 242 ff., 245, 281.
East Silesia 126, 211.
Eastern direction 203 ff.
Ottbergen 223.

Pader 56.
Paderborn 31, 43 ff., 52, 59, 96, 99 ff., 128, 151 ff., 168 ff., 136, 224.
Palaeolithic 141.
Palestine 203.
Papenhausen 174.
Parliament 1S9.
Pastor, Willi 142, 156, 226.
Pattensen 218.
Pauline, Princess 46, 62.
Pavia 53.

Pectzen 119.
Peez, A. 123.
Peruvian 38.
Pertz 180.
St Peter's Church 48, 274.
Peterstieg 191.
Peter 35, 43, 168, 1S1.
Horse (breeding) see Horses, Horse meat 121.
Horse deity 121.
Horse sacrifice 122, 125, 153, 218.

Omen 120.
Pharaohs 226.
Phoenicians 2L2.

Piepenbrin! 216.

Pilgrimage 158 ff.
Pivitsheide 140, 187, 224.
Plackweg 178.
Planets 64, 74.
Plastil (Sculpture) 48, 54.
Plaßmann, I. O. 25.

Platz, Obcrstl. 33, 53, 166.
Pleiades 74, 79.
Pliny 50, 94.
Pithius 180.
Plutarch 250.
Anonymous Poet 180.
Poggenpohlsland 232.

Polacken (entrenchment) 210, 220,
Polarstern 206.
Pollinie 72 ff., 206.
Pvllux 74, 79.
Pomerania 121.
Porta 89, 221.
Potsdam 236.
Precession 41, 71, 79.
Prem 177.

Prussia 178, 214, 228. .
Prussia 214, 248.
Prietze 6.
Prion 236.
Private collection 87.
Probsthagen 237.
Procop 133.
Procession 62.
Ptolemy 152, 15ff., 248, 281.
Pyramid 48, 144, 191, 290.
Pyrmont 84, 224.

Quelle 78, 83 ff., 238. Qucllenhügel 83 ff.

Nail, wheel rim 182, 184.
Ratingen military camp 219.
Räubernest 44.
Rauberus 180.
Hoarfrost 32.
Ravenna 255.
Real culture 9.
Calculation Institute 68. Law, see Court.
Calculation 89.
Reform 13.
Regina 180.
Rehbcrg 89, 126, 174.
Rehme 47.
Reichstag 98, 151.
Reinhardsbrunn 61.
Relief see flat image.
Religion, religious 2, 12 ff., 26, 37, 58, 65, 84, 92, 117, – 131 ff., 144, 156, 162, 172, 203, 205 ff., 212, 227, pp. 246, 249, 253, 257 ff., 286, 274, 286, 290.
Relics 22, 103.

Rennbahn 130 ff., 145, 194, 237.
Rennsteig 87.
Retlager Springs 220.
Reuter, O. p. 5.
Nheda 59.
Rhine, towns on the Rhine 110, 126, 155, 178, 250, 254, 261, 284, 289.
Niem 29, 08.
Rinteln 221, 229.
Ritus 37.
Rocken 75.
Röhrentrup 173.
Röhrig 6, 211.
Rome 117, 192, 198, 202, 218, 246, 250, 268, 277, 282, 289.
Romanisation 227, 267 ff., 278, 281.
Romans 65.

Romans, Roman 8, 10 ff., 58, 91, 105, 107, 121 ff., 125, 153, 155 ff., 178 ff., 194 ff., 227, 2t0, 230 ff., 250 ff., 254 ff., 260, 282 ff., 289 ff. and elsewhere.
Nömerfund 182, 186. -
Nömerlager 178, 187 ff.
Römerschanze 236. .
Röschengrund 12l.
Rosental 123.
Rosse 119 ff., 149, 157 ff., 194, , 282.
! Rotenbach 56, 100.
Nübel, vol. 86, 112, 129, 262,.
! 265.
! Rudolf of Fulda 257, 259.
Ruhr 196, 254.
Round building 107.
Rune 6, 24, 30 ff., 43, 119, 252, 282 ff., 287.
Ku pes picrrum 41, 49.

Saalberg 214, 226.
Saalburg 182.
Saxony, Saxon 14, 17, 42 ff., 47 ff., 57 ff., 64, 88, 101, 133, 138 ff., 142, 148, 152, 163, 168pp.,180,1S8,200,202, 208, 223, 230, 248, 252, 25V ff., 263.
bar soap 216, 221, 231 ff.
Saga 64, 144.
SahSnot 75, 148.
Salusi 93.
Salvian 10, 257, 289.
Salza 276.
pp. 147ff., Salzburg 247, 263, 273.
> Salzuflen 201.
Sammtholzsundern 195.
Samtheiligtum 115, 15S, 196.
Sand dune 130.
Landedeck 158.
Coffin laying 36, 38.
Saros 72.
Salanisation 95, 104, 209, 228, 238.'
Sauerland 196, 231.
Sazellum 18 ff., 42, 48, 20t.
Schaafhausen 6.
Leap year 64.
Schoten 99 ff., 151, 16S, 216.
Schattenwerser 22.
Treasury 51, 252.
Schaumann 88, 119, 257, 260.
Schaumburg-Lippe 125.
Schaumburgerwald 237 ff.

Schessel102.
Schaler280.
Schelpf60,82,138.
Scheppe29, 162f.

Scheppe, Captain of the Corps 163.
Schieber pp. 42, 47, 58, 224.
Schierenberg pp. 5, 50, 159, 161, 167 ff., 170, 182, t94, 198.
Shipping 205.

Schiller 268.

Schlangen 58, 60, 62, 82, 88, 146.

Silesia 233 ff.
Schleswig-Holstein 149, 248.
Schlosser 283.
Schmedissen 89.
Schmidt, Or. H. 48 ff., 62, 89, 188.
Schmidtmann 141.
Schmiede 154.
Schmitthenner 288.
Schneider 232.
Schönemark 89, 165, 170.
Schonen 139.
Schopenhauer 279.
Schötmar 188.
Schradin 203.
Schriftwesen 117, 194, 252, 267 ff., 283, 287.
Schröder 80.
Schuchhardt 68, 92, 134 ff., 138., 141, 142, 150, 175, 190, 225, 230, 237, 248.
Schücking 18.
Schuhmacher 111.

Education 8.
Schwabe 195.
Schwalenberg 59, 97, 214.
Schwanold 80 ff., 163, 166, 187,
220, 224, 243 ff.
Schwarmstedt 216.
Schwarz, Schwarzmeier 60, 90, 96, 128, 130, 169 s.
Schwarzenbrint 170, 173, 224, 226.
Schweden 145, 210.
Schwedcnschanzc 60.
Schweicheln 89.
Schweineberg 238.
Schwelm 237.
Schwerin 125.
Scrobes (pits) 191.
Hexagon 68 ff.
Sedin ISO.
Segestes 198.
Seeress 114, 158.
Seilzer Tower 218.
Scmnonen 37.
District courts 252.
Seneca 191.
Senne 67, 78, 122, 126, 152, 158, 242.
Scnnctrift 60, 124 ff., 149 ff.
Sielholz 47.
Signalling 2V7ff., 223, 232, 239.
Simon 97, 128.
Sinlbach 83, 100.
Sippar 26 f-,
Sippe 86, 288.
Sirius 71, 74ff., 79.
Morality 2, 259.
Custom see
Custom.

Slave, domestic slave 192.
Scythians 248, 290.
Slav 15, 233, 276.
Sunbrinl 237.
Sun, sun cult 64, 71 ff.
Solstice 23 ff., 29, 45, 173, 203 ff., 209, 240.
Sold, 289.
Sothis 75.
Watchtower 208.
Sparenburg, pp. 212 ff.
Spengler 3.
Specialisation 1.
Spica 74, 79.
Games, gambling 57, 61, 65, 130 ff., 148, 164, 170 f., 173, 288.
Spielberg 225.
Spitzgraben 187.
Language.....246, 249, 251, 268, 281, 289.
Stadium 131, 13S.
Stadthagen 237.
Town, Hauvistadt 58 ff., 152 ff., 168, 224 ff., 289.
Stadtoldendors 221.
Stamford 186, 194.
Stapel 97.
Slapelage 224.
Steele 195.
Lteinallce 16S ff., 166 ff.

Stone construction 9 14 _ 26 104ss.,142,172,1S2,202, 285.
Steinbeck 172, 220 ff.
Steinhagen, church 216.
Steinhagen 161 ff.
Stone burial mound 162, 172, 223 ff., 227, 24L.
Stcinkrcis 45, 160, 232.
Stone cross 202, 238.
Stonemason 18, 24, 3V, 32 ff.
Stone setting 28, 142, 156, 162 ff., 203.
Stone dance 203.
Stcinwall 162, 164 ff., 166, 190 ff.
Stone Age 91, 139, 142, 244 ff, 248, 282. '
Stemmen 89.
Stephan 203.
Sicrnberg 219 ff., 222.
Star constellation, sky) 25, 71, 203.
Sternen-Otto 64 ff.
Stieren, p. 80.
Stöckerberg 89, 223 ff., 226.
Stonehenge 29, 62, 134 ff., 144, 147, 150, 203, 227.
Stoppelburg 214 ff.
Strabo 246.
Strack 119.
Refraction 71.
Strote 56, 60, 62.
Stuhl, Pros. 123.
Chair legs 235.
Stulenbrol 122, 204.
Stuttgart 125.
Suderbruch 216.
Sueben 133, 246, 250.
Sussert, O. 291.
Sugambrians (Sigambrians) 57, 140, 1S5 ff., 248, 250.
Cross of Atonement 202, 237.
Sumerer 26.
Süntcl 125, 270 ff.
Susat, Soest, Susatier 56, 149, 152, 196.
Symbols 3, 5, 27, 48, 53, 65, 117, 252, 287.

Tänisanne 197.
Tanfana 194 ff. Tappe 226, 242.
Tassilo 273 ff.
Taube 95.
Tause (basin) 32, 112, 117, 152, 259.

Barter trade see Trade.
Tacitus 37, 50, 57, 64, 86, 88, 94, pp. 114, 120, 122, 133, 145 ff., 152, 155, 156, 176 ff., 182, 191 ff., 194, 196 ff., 208, 244, 265, 268, 271, 285, 287, 290.
Technology 18, 282, 288.
Temples 18, 26, 123, 125, 161, 196, 211 ff., 205, 218, 285 ff.
Temple site 166.
Tendency 11.
Tentterer 250.
Will of Charlemagne 252, 263.
Teuderi 155 ff., 224.
Devil 42, 44, 102, 205.
TeuselSberg 221.
Teusdsloch 222.
Teuselsort LOS, 232 ff. Teuselsturm 172, 222.
Teut 161, 178 ff.
Teutberg 165, 178 ff.
Teutemeier 178.
Teutoburq 29, 68, 161, 172, 174, 175 ff., 204, 212, 2L5.
Teutoburgiensis Saltus 175 ff., 196.
Teutoburg Forest 7, 58, 148, 177 ff., 204, 216, 228.
Teutobodus 133.
Teutons 57, 246, 271, 289.
Tevenhausen 89.
Theodo, Theotbert 274.
Theoderich 255.
Theodosius 252.
Theodrat 101.
Theotmalli 161 ff., 188.
Thcutwald 180.
Thiassi 76.
Thidrelsaga 56, 14S.

ThingstLtte 107, 131, 145, 187 ff., 202, 207, 209 ff., 226, 233, 237 ff.
Thonerius 156.
Thoren, Thören 216ff., 219, 237.
Thornbergon 217, 219.
Throne 53.
Thune 56, 62, 148.
Thuringia 262, 263, 265, 268, 272 ff., 276, 290.
Thuringian Forest 211.
Thusnelda 198.
Tiberius 91.
Animal trap 156.
Zodiac 64.
Tiermann 183.
Tilhen 45.
Timm 203.
Todemann 221, 230.
Tödtmann 178.
Toga 283.
TönSberg 68, 104, 168, 224 ff., 243.
Pottery 9, 154.
Obituaries 14, 106.
Totenhausen 237.
Totenopfcr 121.
Funeral plays, corpse plays 131, 139.
Totila 133.
Toyt 178.
Trajan 153.
Translatio St. Viti 99 ff.
Trasilo 276.
Trier 105, 201.
Trist 124, 126 ff.
Trigonometric Point 219, i 224, 233 ff.
Dry stone wall 68.
Trojaburg 156, 158, 166, 232.
Truc 122, 156 ff.
Trundholm 64, 88.
Tubanti 53, 125.
Tuchelerheidc 203.
Tunnel 35.
Turne 93, 95, 104, 114 ff., 172, ! 191, 201, 204, 208, 216 ff., 232, 239.
Tütgemühle 62.

Elevation 71.
Uhlebort 107.
Ulsilas 62.
Enclosure 85, 126, 164, 223.
Enclosure, rampart 29, 61, 67,! 79, 107, 126, 129 ff., 134 ff., 143, 146 ff., 149 ff., 162, 161 ff., 173, 184, 238.
Unger, Prof 26.
Ungerland 263. '
Unna 177, 196.
Uppsala, Old Uppsala 145.
Urmensch 41.
Usipeten 250.
Uslar, v. 83.

Vala Nummonius 182, 184.
Valdorf 223.
Vandals 10, 246, 248.
Aarenholz 89.
Varus, Battle of Varus 36, 38, 56, 91, 94, 176 ff., 198.
Vatican Biblical 56.
Veldrom (Feldrom) 47, 157, 181, 184.
Veleda 88, 92 ff., 114 ff.
Veltmann, Dr. 168, 194.
Vellejus 91, 182, 188, 192.
Velmerswt 79.
Veltheim 89, 165, 199, 221.
Venantius 288.
Venus 75.
Genetics), Genetic material 3, 8, 259, 269, 278, 284, 290 ff.
Verden 92, 202, 254, 261, 268, 270 ff., 277.
Berlehr 87.
Verputz 32.
Versailles 151, 258.
Weathering 19, 52.
Visbeck bride and groom 142, 156, 227.
Vitellins 114.
Motho 165, 199.
Vosges 202.
Ethnic psychology 3.
International Law 88.
Migration of Peoples, Migration 242, 245 ff.
Völkisch 2 ff., 58.
Vollsburg 175, 181, 190.
Vollpracht 187.

Wachtberg, Wartberg (-türm) i 165, 232 ff.
Wackelstcin 30, 44.
Waddenhausen 214, 220 ff.
Wagerier 138.
Wagner, Richard 280.
Wahrde 220.
Probability 28, 71, 77.
Wahrweg 184, 189.
iWala 101.
j Waldeck 59, 214.
Waldeck, Count 159.
Waldfrieden 126.
Waldheide 187.
Ramparts (see Enclosure).
Pilgrimages 25, 36, 45.
Pilgrimage Slapelle, Rosary lapelle 235.
Pilgrimage Mill 219.
Marching column 87, 249 ff.
Warburg 88, 158.
Warin 96, 101.
Wartburg 237.
Warte 28, 169, 172 ff., 208, 222, 224, 231.
Wartha 235.
Wasserbach 75, 92 ff., 114, 194, 224.
Wattenbach 99.
Weber 133, 200.
Wehren connection 45.
Weichtum, Wichhus 164.
Weiten 162.
Weimar, Hesse 236.
Weiß, p. 230.
Weiß, Eugen 23, 53, 62, 114.
White Woman 95.
Widowhood 37.
v. Wetus 126, 164 ff., 188.
Wellingholzhausen 222.
Werden 21, 44, 59.
Werretal 168.
Werl 177 ff., 196.
Wersen 237.
Werther 216.
Weser 38, 47, 89, 99 ff., 199, 237, 254.
Weser Mountains 204, 216.
Westerlappeln 237.
Westphalia 59, 125, 200, 214.
Western fronts, see Franks.
Mchbold 216.
Mchmodi 276.
Widutind 48.
Wiehengebirge 177.
Wiesbaden 155.
Wietersheim Tower 221.
Widlak 120 s, 142, 201.
Wiembeck 178.
Wiembele 36.
Vienna 263.
Wigand 99, 215.
Wilinger 289.
Wilbasen 89, 122.
Wildschrey, Or. 30.

Wild horse breeding 125.
Wilderschmied 204.
Wilhelmshöhe-Herkules 236.
Wilhelmshöhe, Silesia 235.
Wille 162, 166.
Wilkenburg 218.
Wilms 177.
Wilser 248.
Winfeld 94, 123, 128, 179, 181, 184, 190.
Wintler, Hugo 65.
Winsen 216:
Winter solstice 33, 70, 173.
Wirth, Herman 5 ff., 13, 33, 107.
! Wissig 6.
Wittenburg 223.
Wittenstein 8V.
Wittelind 57, 93, 142, 161, 168, j 259.
Mittelindsberg 204, 221.
Wodan 54, 62, 121 ff., 148, 258.
Wohnburg 225.
Wolf, Pastor 182.
i Wolsenbüttel 223.
Worms 273.
Woyte 191, 198.
Wuhlgarten 236.
^Würzburg 273. !
Wüsten 89.

Dulatan 133.

Zenith 83.
Ziegenberg 172, 244.
Zobten 235.
Coincidence 74, 77, 201^
Tackle 57.
Twins 71 ff., 121.
Cyclopean 27, 70, 161 ff., 164, 175.

Images and maps

1 In sacred Grove (Leistrup Forest) Cover image
2 Germanic silver by Häver (Mecklenburg) 9
3 Plan of the Sazellum ... 15
4 The Externsteine near Horn in Lippe 17
5 Destroyed head of the Turin Rock (south-west side) 20
6 ..... Destroyed top of the Tower Rock (south-east side)- 21
7 ..... Celestial Shrine (Sazellum) - - 23
8 .....Niche in the Sazellum 24
S The image from Sippar ..... - 27
10 ..... Bridge bearings and wobbly pins..... 29
11 .....Front of the lower grotto - 31
12 North corner of lower cave 32
13 .....Rune inscription before and after uncovering 33
14 ..... Ideogram table 34
15 South corner of the lower grotto 35
16 Plan of the lower grotto. 36
17.....Rock coffin 37
18 Block of the rock coffin from above 39
19 Front view of the rock coffin .....' 39
20 ..... Chair of the Incas. . . ..

Fig. T-it-
10 ..... Boundary Wall II.....73
11 Thickness of ramparts III, ...IV, V 76
12 .....Stone fist-shaped wedge 80
13 Spring Hill at Sternhof 81
14 ..... Entrance to the Spring Hill 83
15 Hünnen Church in Kohlstädt 105
16 ..... Half-timbered walls in the 20th and 2nd centuries 108
17 Frisian farmhouse 109
18 ..... The axe find from Kohlstädt ,. .... .112
19 Osta (find from Hohenstein) 118
20 The Sennetrift. Area hose between Lopshorn and Oesterholz 124
44 Thickness of the rampart around Langelau 130
45 Langelau rampart.....131
46 Map of the Oesterholz floodplain.....132
47 The battle plan at Langelau ..... - -.....135
48 The central cone 113
49 Three-Hilled Sanctuary.....147
50 Altupsala.....146
51 up to 55 archaeological finds from Ahausen near Verden .....a. Aller 153
56 Map of Leistrup Forest 160
57 Opferstein 163
58 Cyclops Wall (Leistrup Forest) 164
59 Malstattumhcgung (Leistrup Forest).....165
60 Stone circle on the Bärenstein 167
61 Detmold Lookout 171
62 Teutoburg Ruins 175
63 Map of the area around the 'Teutoburg' (17th century) 179
64 Bölkehals in a heroic deed.....183
65 Roman Spitzgraben (Heidenoldendorf).....185
66 Dune above a rampart (Heidenoldendorf).....187
67 The Heidental valley beneath the Tcutoburg.....189
68 Old map of tribal settlements (Bishop of Fürstenberg).....195
69 Murder Cross near Probsthagen.....203
70 Köterberg with its -1 location pointsii.....213
71 The design of the Herlingsburg's perimeter.....215
72 Dickerberg Lookout 222
73 Ziegenberg Lookout 223
74 Herlingsburg . . . .' 225
75 The Megalithic Church near Oerlinghausen 229
76 Mordireuz near Meerbeck.....237
77 Destroyed grotto entrance.....255
78 Germanic man in a fur coat at the Column of St Mark in Rome.....279
79 Interior of an old farmhouse. 285
80 Dagger hilt with runes (found in the Unterwcser).....286
81 Boulder 291

Contents

1. Why and How 1

2. The Celestial Sanctuary on the Externstein 17

Sazellum / Bridge / Lower Grölte and Runic Inscriptions / Rock Coffin / History

1 .....Jrminsul and the rock carving - 4?

1. Around the Lippe springs.....56

Centre of Germanic tribes / Fesisiraße

5. A centre for astronomy in Oesterholz 64

Germanic astronomy / Oesterholz estate / Quellenhügel

0. The Marks, History of the Mark of Oesterholz and Hethi ..... e 86

7. ..... The ritual stone structure in Kohlstädt '.....104

Germanic architecture /' Archaeological / Veled Tower

7. Holy Rosse of Lopshorn 117

Symbols / Germanic horse breeding / Cross-country course / Enclosures

7. .....Racecourse in Langelau 129

Purpose / Name / Suitability / Racecourse at Stonehenge

7. Hill fort between the Lauen 142

Ancestor and God Worship / Altupsala / Ashen Path / The remaining Lauen

7. ..... Teudcri and Truc ..... p. . 151

Paderborn / Germanic towns / Trade and commerce / Teuderium / The Truc field

7. ..... Lheotmalli 161

Leistrup Forest / Steinalleen / Malstätte / Detmold / Hiddeser Hill and Lookout

7. ..... Teutoburg and "koutokurnionala 8kltu8.....175

Teutoburg / Battle of Varus / Finds / Roman prisoners

7. Sought Sanctuaries 194

Roman reprisals / Tanfana / Marllo

7. Sacred Lines 201

Astronomical positioning / Mountain sanctuaries / Towers / Burial sites / Eradication of names / Visual and auditory signals / Trigonometric points / Penitential expeditions / Result

7. .....Germans in Germania 242

Germans at the sources of the Lippe / Permanent settlements of farmers / Migration of peoples / Migration routes

7. .....The Destroyer of Sanctuaries 252

Charlemagne, King of the Franks, Roman Emperor

7. Objectivity and Germanic culture

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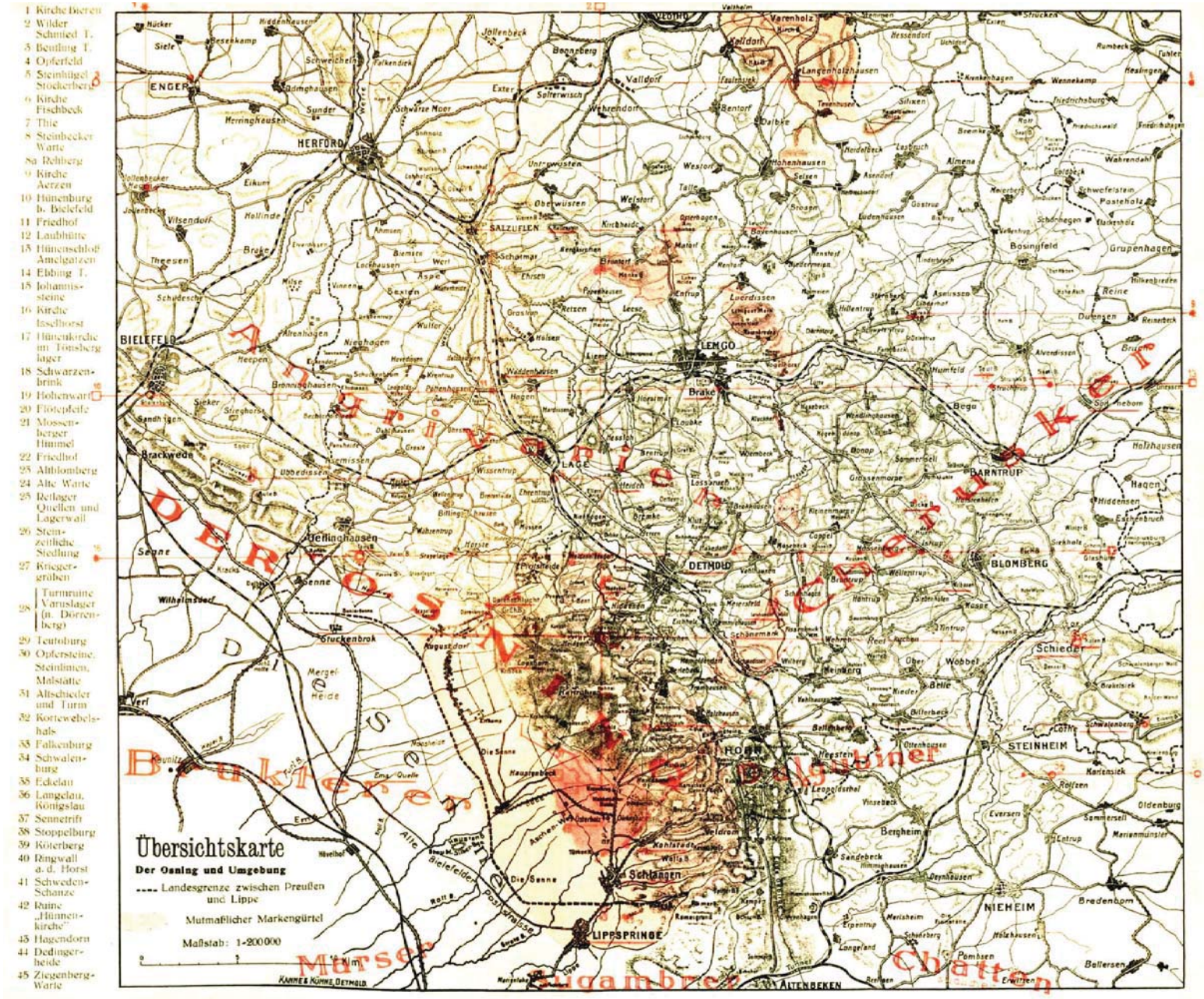
1 Kirche Bieren
2 Wilder Schmied T.
3 Beutling T.
4 Opferfeld
5 Steinhügel Stöckerberg
6 Kirche Fischbeck
7 Thie
8 Steinbecker Warte
8a Rehberg
9 Kirche Aerzen
10 Hünenburg b. Bielefeld
11 Friedhof
12 Laubhütte
13 Hünenschloß Amelgatzen
14 Ebbing T.
15 Johannissteine
16 Kirche Isselhorst
17 Hünenkirche im Tönsberglager
18 Schwarzenbrink
19 Hohenwart
20 Flötepfeife
21 Mossenberger Himmel
22 Friedhof
23 Altblomberg
24 Alte Warte
25 Reflager Quellen und Lagerwall
26 Steinzeitliche Siedlung
27 Kriegergräben
28 Turmruine Varuslager (n. Dörrenberg)
29 Teutoburg
30 Opfersteine, Steinlinien, Malstätte
31 Altschieder und Turm
32 Kortewebelshals
33 Falkenburg
34 Schwalenburg
35 Eckelau
36 Langelau, Königslau
37 Sennetrift
38 Stoppelburg
39 Köterberg
40 Ringwall a. d. Horst
41 Schweden-Schanze
42 Ruine „Hünnenkirche"
43 Hagendorn
44 Dedingerheide
45 Ziegenberg-Warte
Übersichtskarte
Der Osning und Umgebung
---- Landesgrenze zwischen Preußen und Lippe
Mutmaßlicher Markengürtel
Maßstab: 1-200000
KANNE & KÜHNE, DETMOLD
ENGER
HERFORD
SALZUFLEN
BIELEFELD
LEMGO
Brake
LAGE
DETMOLD
BARNTRUP
BLOMBERG
Brackwede
Oerlinghausen
Stuckenbrok
Verl
Wilhelmsdorf
Schieder
Wöbbel
Heinberg
Belle
HORN
STEINHEIM
NIEHEIM
Schlangen
LIPPSPRINGE
ALTENBEKEN
Bega
Barntrup
Sennestadt
Bergheim
Sandebeck
Oesterhausen
Bredenborn
Pömbsen
Holzhausen
Ottenhausen
Oldenburg
Eversen
Sommersell
Marienmünster
Rolfzen
Kantensiek
Schwalenberg
Lothe
Wehren
Erwitzen
Ballersen
Langeland
Merlsheim
Schorberg
Erpentrup
Entrup
Hiddensen
Holzhausen
Sirkhofe
Glashütte
Wellentrup
Hantrup
Schönermark
Reelkirchen
Reelsiek
Wiberg
Kohlstadt
Wellas
Asemissen
Grupenhagen
Posthalsen
Pastenhalz
Schwefelstein
Wahrendahl
Friedrichsburg
Wennekamp
Hesingen
Rumbeck
Tuhler
Varenholz
Valdorf
Langenholzhausen
Bentorf
Silixen
Hessendorf
Schrucken
Exter
Sudmühlen
Sundern
Schwarze Moor
Herringhausen
Falkendiek
Schwerlichsen
Hiddenhausen
Siele
Hücker
Besenkamp
Jöllenbeck
Bergenberg
Wehrendorf
Salterwisch
Oetzen
Ubbedissen
Wissentrup
Ehrentrup
Billinghausen
Hörste
Senne
Sennelager
Stukenbrok
Augustdorf
Mergelheide
Die Senne
Haustenbeck
Emsquelle
Ems
Alte
Bielefelder
Post
Die Senne
Aschen-Weg
Osterholz
Tönsberg
Hövelhof
Kaunitz
Verl
Sende
Sennestadt
Bergheim
Sandebeck
Oesterhausen
Bredenborn
Pömbsen
Holzhausen
Ottenhausen
Oldenburg
Eversen
Sommersell
Marienmünster
Rolfzen
Kantensiek
Schwalenberg
Lothe
Wehren
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Schorberg
Erpentrup
Entrup
Hiddensen
Holzhausen
Sirkhofe
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Hövelhof
Kaunitz
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